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Congrega-

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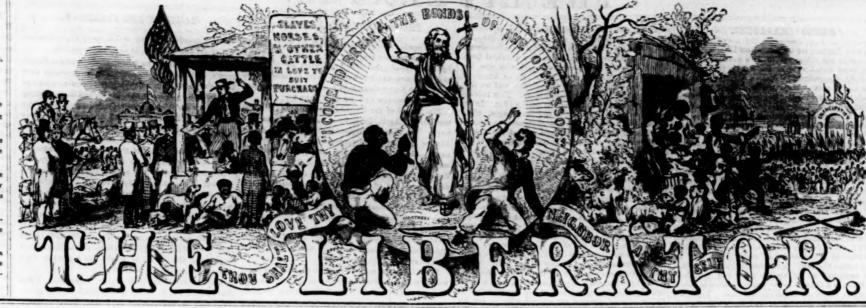
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TY LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1865.

J. R. VERRINTON & SON. Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1820.

PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUPPRAGE.

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter from the late President Lincoln, addressed to Gen. Wads-worth, taking strong ground in favor of universal suf-

"You de-ire to know, in the event of our complete such

cess in the field, the same being followed by a leysl and cheerful submission of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied by universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency

mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus

be resilized, followed by anch desired results, I can't see-if universal acquesty is granted—how, under the circum-stances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage,

or, at least, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and mill-

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as to

what course I shall purrue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of

the republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right o the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

Selections.

JAMAICA.

SELS BY A JANAICAN ON THE LATE DISTURBANCES AMONG THE BLACKS.

Verifistanding the length of the following article. ent is the importance of the subject, and such the said of the testimony given by the writer, that we nert it in full. All evidence, thus far obtained, goes police that the Governor and military authorities of Annica have been guilty of acts of high-handed and grandonable violence and massacre. The British permisht can do no less than institutea close and would have been put to death. tal avestigation of the whole matter.

Now that the first excitement is over, we may be semitted to look dispassiona tely into the Jamaica ser-to ascertain whether or not there has been a flior, properly so called, in Jamaica. We have a the trouble of going deliberately and carein through the Jamaica newspapers received here whe last mail, full files of which we were fortu-are energh to obtain, and after having collected and fall the facts of the case, we make bold to weight all the lacts of the case, we make done to on, the sensitional letters of the "correspondents" in the contrary notwithstanding, and also the abused and alarming tone of the Jamaica press, that there has been really no negro rebellion in that alind. The whole thing was only a riot—a very ornes and disastrous disturbance of the peace, it is

sense and disastrous disturbance of the peace, it is use, but still a riot, and nothing more. Let us look at the facts of the case, as they are arrated in the Kingston journals. We find from the papers that the killing commenced on the part the repulsion. For some three for four days, and the superaction of the plates. For some three for four days, and the plates of the plates. So, the superaction of the superaction of the plates. So, the proposed of the superaction of the supe sufferities. For some three or four days, the cutting out of a tongue, and the other the cutting off of the fingers.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT.

Let us see now what steps were taken to suppress the terrible revolt. The whole country, comprising eight parishes, was at once put under martial law, excepting the city of Kingston, and troops were des-patched to St. Thomas-in-the-East. On Thursday Alternoon, the 13th October, about twenty-four hours after the outbreak, a detachment of regulars arrived at Morant Bay; but according to the report of the commanding officer, they found "all quiet" there. Another detachment was despatched to Port Morant, seven miles from Morant Bay, where "it had been ascertained a large body of rebels had

ters, and to his overseer on matters of business; and, second, of the testimony of two or three in rebels," under sentence of death, to the effect that Mr. Gordon bad been the instigator of the rebelion." The particulars of this evidence have not been published by any of the Kingston journals, although all of them are fierce and bitter in their denunciations of Gordon and the negroes, and although there was every reason why they should give the documentary evidence to the world without loss of time. Gordon's trial lasted for an hour and a half, and resulted in his conviction. He was sentenced to be hanged, and died bravely protesting his innocence to the last. He was hanged like a dog; for, according to the report of the execution in the Kingston papers, he struggled for fully fifteen minutes after the "barrel" upon which he stood had been pulled away from under him, showing that death resulted from strangulation. Seventeen blacks were hanged along with him; and it is a remarkable fact that every man of any position on the island, known as sympathizing with his political views, was arrested about the time of his execution, dragged from his home, and handed over to the will alter the report of the execution, dragged from his home, and handed over to the military authorities. Among these are two editors and proprietors of newspapers, both white, and four clergymen, of whem three are black and one white.

CONCLUSIONS.

To these practical step of the defect that the old regime does not return. Washington, now, with all their former prestige and power. But they cannot be gratified. The loyal people will take good care that the old regime does not return. Washington, now, with a great increase in populations increase in populations increase in population size good care that the old regime does not return. Washington, now, with a great increase in populations increase in population size good care that the old regime does not return. Washington, now, with a great increase in populations increase in population size in s

would have been put to death.

BLOODY WORK—THE CASE OF GORDON.

In reading the accounts of this affair published by the Jamaica newspapers, one is forcibly struck with the savage, brutal, merciless way in which the authorities went to work in dealing with the blacks. It was not mere promptitude and energy that were displayed in suppressing an outbreak which was supposed to be the forerunner of a general insurrection. It was much more. There seems to have been a sort of grim delight experienced in doing the bloody work of death. If the common soldiers "enjoyed it," there were others who seem to have enjoyed it too. It was, indeed, as if feelings of rage long pent up in the bosom—as of revenge long and moodily biding its time—had at length found the favorable opportunity for striking a terrible blow.

There is a remarkable significance in the way in which Mr. G. W. Gordon, the alleged promoter of the rebellion, was dealt with. That gentleman, who was one of the largest landed proprietors on the island, and a member of the House of Assembly, had been for some two or three years past a stout and uncompromising opponent of the government, and an aident advocate of the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and an aident advocate of the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and consequently barely tolerated. Being in power, and dispensing the patronage of the Government, but the blacks are their expenses, and their constituents. Such was the omnipotence of Southern leaders and politicians that the army, had been for some two or three years past a stout and uncompromising opponent of the government, and an aident advocate of the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and consequently better the blacks, and consequently

discommending eithers, they found "all quett" the American possible that the American possible the American Control of the Con

newspapers, vigorously engaged in the suppression of the rebellion—that is, seizing supposed rebels and rebel synpathizers on every hand, and trying them by court-martial: flogging the women, and co-casionally hanging two or three of them; and shooting and hanging the men by scores at a time. One of the efficers, in command of a troop of irregular cavairy, writes that the men found fine sport in shooting down the blacks, as, on the approach of the irroops to the negro settlements, the poor people fled in terror from their cottages. "The men," he coolly observes, "enjoy it; the people have reason to dread it." Flogging, or "catting," it is stated in one of the Kingston journals, "was going on from morning to night in the parish of St. Thomas-in-termination of martial law, full two thousand negroes would have been put to death.

BLOODY WORK—THE CASE OF GORDON.

In reading the accounts of this affair published by the Jannica newspapers, one is forcibly struck with the savage, brutal, merciless way in which the authorities went to work in dealing with the blacks. It was not mere promptitude and energy that were displayed in suppressing an outbreak which was very possed to be the foreunner of a general insurrees.

treasure, the Government is to submit the question between itself and Jefferson Davis to a jury of twelve men—all of whom must be improper persons to sit on a jury, if the ordinary rules are to be applied to them, or they could not get into the jury box, to determine by verdict between the legitimate Government and the rebel Government, and decide which is in the wrong? If Mr. Davis is found by these incompetent and improper jury. The proper jury to the pronounced upon him; if the Government is found to be in the wrong, then——. And see Vol. I. § 101.

The populations to be conditions, or and the University in the University of the Uni Vol. L. 6 101.

Vol. I. § 101.
6. I know that, at such a time as this, it is very embarrasing for the Government to do right. Should Mr. Davis be tried by a military court, all the demagogues in the country would raise the cry that the Constitution was violated, and our

tries to which our own is, by race or opinion, in the least germane. Such was the domestic discipline of the plantation, and such were the resources of petty and irresponsible tyrants isolated from regularly constituted tribunals, and claiming a complete authority as judges, jurors and executioners.

We do not know whether or not the breed of ority as judges, jurors and executioners. We do not know whether or not the breed of

bloodhouds is kept up in all its mischievous purity in Louisiana, or whether, in the general decay of the system, of which they were the natural and efficient servants, they have grown less nice of nose, less swift of foot, and less sharp of fang But the remorseless human cruelty which stimulated their

AID FOR THE PREEDMEN.

LETTER FROM CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.

A meeting was recently held in Brooklyn, New York, in aid of the freedmen. Chief Justice Chase was invited to be present, but could not attend, and sent the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 20, 1865. GENTLEMEN: Nothing but imperative public business would detain me from the meeting to be held to-morrow evening, under the auspices of the American Union Commission, the Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the American Missionary Association.

Its object, the relief of suffering at the South, without regard to color, must command the sympa-

thy of all good and patriotic men.

To suppress rebellion, the American people put forth vast energies, counting neither treasure nor life dear in comparison with an undivided country; and never in the history of the world was a civil war waged with so little rancor or vindictiveness on

the part of the nation against rebels.

The people never forget that success must be followed by the restration, in due time, and on just conditions, of the old relations between such States and the Union, and that, to the permanent and beneficial restoration of those relations, the establishment of featernal engineers between the citizens of ment of fraternal sentiments between the citizens of the States was indispensable. It is important now, that the people who have been in rebellion should be thoroughly satisfied that the first wish of the loyal people is the re-establishment of these

sentiments.

The war has brought great changes. Among these, the enfranchisement of 4,000,000 of slaves is the greatest and most momentous. The conversion of this vast population from bondsmen to freemen and citizens imposes on the people of the States in which this wonderful revolution has taken place, in which this wonderful revolution has taken place.

vote.

But I shall rejoice in seeing good done, and in promoting the doing of it, in whatever measure or kind, and by whatever agency or authority. We made war to save the Union. The providence of God made our war for the Union a war for universal freedom in America, and crowned it with success. Now comes the work of restoration and renovation. Let it be prosecuted with wise patriotism, sincere good will and impartial justice, and who will dare doubt that God will crown this work also will dare doubt that Got with success? Yours, very truly,
S. P. CHASE.

LYMAN ABBOTT, Esq., J. M. McKim, Esq.

when they were the natural and efficient nervants, they have grown loss nice of none. Here we'll of hot, and less sharp of lang. But the remains the process of the strength of the proces

says he is sorry his son cannot go on the same bench with the negro. I cannot see that repugnance myself. Has he not ploughed in the same field? Have not the son and negro ploughed and hoed together? Some may not have been forced by necessity, but is it not of constant and daily occurrence upon the plantation, that a white man works with the negro? And does any man feel degraded because he has held the handles of a plough in the same field with the negro of his father? If the blacks had been taken into the war with the Southern army, the same sin the Northern, the If the blacks had been taken into the war with the Southern army, the same as in the Northern, the condition of things might have been different. It was false pride that kept them out." So the argument continued at great length, and with increasing asperity. When the question was taken, the objectionable clause was retained by nearly two to one... Wincrester, Sur. one .- Worcester Spy.

TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

We call the special attention of the Government and the War Department (says the Philadelphia Christian Recorder) to the kind of treatment that our people are reseiving at the hands of citizens, aided by soldiers of the United States, at Mobile city, Ga. Will the War Department tolerate such inhuman, cruel, ungodly conduct of their white soldiers, and let it go unpunished and unrebuked? Why not remove those miserable white incumbents, and place colored soldiers on duty, who will deal out even-handed justice to both colored and white men? Any one who will read the following letter of a reliable correspondent of the New Orleans Tribune can see how things were conducted in that deally remained. devil's paradise.

TO THE COLORED PEOPLE OF MOBILE.

A sad thing it is, that the colored man cannot get tustice before the law here, nor any where else in this Department; peaceful, law-abiding citizen as he is. Not only law-abiding and peaceful, but also the most loyal people in the bright, sunny South; and yet they are subjected to more disadvantages than any other class of people here.

We cannot pass through the public streets of this city without being molested: neither colored soldiers nor citizens are free from assaults, by white soldiers of the United States army, who are ever upon the alert, for the purpose of piligring and rob-

upon the alert, for the purpose of pilfering and robless to deny these stern facts, for they stare you in the face in the public streets every day.

Suppose the colored troops that were on duty in

this city some time ago had committed such depreda-tions upon the white population of this scurrilous rebel city, what would have been the consequences? Why, it would have been beralded from one end of Why, it would have been heralded from one end of the country to the other, that the colored troops were not fit for duty in the capacity of patrol goards. But the many acts of low manners that are committed by the while troops are winked at by those in authority, who are the very ones that ought to sift the matter through, and bring those scoundrels to a severe account for their villany; but as it is only the poor negro that suffers, it is passed over without a handling. I said the poor negro: true, we are poor, but why is it? It is not because we have not carned riches; but it is because that which have not earned riches; but it is because that which we have carned has been appropriated by those that are now calling us "trifling, good-for-nothing, lazy devils." O, yes, we are trifling and lazy, now that they can no longer get all the proceeds of our labor: it is a pleasure for us that we are good-fornothing, by the way that the Johnny rebs fought, bled and died in trying to hold together the chains of slavery. See with what reluctance they accept the new era that has been brought about! They have taken the oath of loyalty to the United States, but at heart they are as good friends to the so-called confederate cause as ever.

When we appeal to the authorities for aid, they when we appeal to the authorities for aid, they do not give it; but they tell us we must not carry any weapon. Now, what are we to do? There is hardly a white citizen in Mobile that does not carry weapons, for self-defence, it is said by them; and yet we, that are the objects of their hatred, are not allowed to do so under the same plea. Now, I would ask, what kind of law is that? What kind

nations of men;" that he is no respecter of persons that Christ died for all, and that the way of salvabrough Him is open to all; and we subscribe declaration that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain ina , among which are life, liberty, and the happiness;" hence we believe that all litical distinctions on account of color are conrary to the great principles which lie at the foundamaking such distinctions, we are not pursuing course which is well-pleasing in the Divine sight In accordance with what we believe to be our reli gious duty, we would respectfully ask that, in the reconstruction of the States recently in rebellion, the Constitution of no State be accepted, nor Representatives be allowed to participate in the ac-tion of Congress, in which a large portion of its in-habitants are disfranchised on account of their color, and not allowed to participate in the Government which is to be established over them; that in no which is to be established over them; that in no case color be made a test of civil or political rights,

but that all men be treated as equals.

The events of the past few years have shown that our colored population is a thoroughly loyal one; that they appreciate the excellent Government un-der which we live, and are willing to make many sacrifices to sustain it; and that they are capable of high degree of refinement and civilization. If egradation and ignorance unfit men to participate in all the privileges of our Government, disability be applicable alike to all that class, and ot to the colored population only.
Signed by direction and on behalf of Meeting,

LEVI JESSUP, Clerk.

LETTER FROM PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE EVENTS IN JAMAICA.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser of the so-called insurrection has now fully delivered its contents, and the English public are in a position to form a tolerably accurate opinion as to nature and significance of these horrible events.

Nothing has occurred to prejudice, in the estima-tion of any impartial observer, the character or the claims of the negro race; though many things have occurred to demonstrate the impolicy and injustice of allowing the ex-slaveowner to exercise any power

I speak as one fully sensible of the at per plexities of the negro question, and fully aware how difficult it must be to introduce political equality without social fusion, or to bring about real social fusion between races severed from each other by color, by a physical antipathy, and by a fatal men ory of the time when the men of one race were masters, and the men of the other race were their

As you know, we abolished at great cost slavery in our West India possessions. We found, after a patient, searching and judicial examination of the system, that if we did not abolish it, it would bring upon us the judgment of God. abolish it, it would bring

At first, we substituted a term of apprenticeship.

But we found that apprenticeship was slavery under another name, if it was not worse. In two years, under the hypocritical forms of law, 60,000 apprentices received, in the aggregate, one quarter of a million of lashes, and 50,000 other punishments by the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, and other means

of legal torture. We then abolished apprenticeship. But we could not change the ex-slaveowner's heart, and in our somewhat exaggerated and indiscriminate devotion to parliamentary institutions, we have allowed his propensities too much scope. He has, by various nations, excluded the great bulk of the negro pulation from the exercise of the franchise, ma Assembly an organ of his own prejudices a of the franchise, made interests, and by caste legislation created among the negroes a deep and natural dissatisfaction, which, without any organized conspiracy, is no doubt always ready to break forth in local manifestations

discontent.

The intentions of the home government, and its actions, so far as it has interposed, have been uni-formly good and just. Its veto has probably prevented greater excesses of caste legislation, espe in the direction of vagrancy laws. But it has

of kept power enough in its hands.

The spirit of the negroes had been embittered by distress, caused by a long drought. A dispute are as to the ownership of an estate from which a legal claimant was seeking to eject the negro occupants In the course of the dislision took place between the negroes as pute, a collision took place between the negroes and the legal authorities. The negroes surrounded a court house in a tumultuous manner. The riot act was read to them. Perhaps they did not very They refused to disperse. They were then fired upon by a party of volunteers, and some of them, it appears, were killed and wounded. They then rushed upon the party who had fired upon them, and tore some of them to pieces with cirof great atrocity. It was a most shocking and re volting scene; but not nearly so shocking as many that have occurred in French and Irish insurrections, where the mob had not been fired upon an had received no immediate provocation.

No doubt the feeling of the negroes against the ominant caste was unchanged by this encounter Yet the massacre scarcely extended beyond the scene of the original collision. Very few atrocities were committed, so far as at present appears, other wise than in hot blood. On the other hand, we learn, even from the adverse side, several remarka-

e instances of negro mercy.

As the case at present stands, there is nothing whatever to prove peculiar, much less indelible, fe-rocity in the negro race. Rather the reverse. But the whites of the island, the English officers who have been corrupted by the blandishments of that depraved society, (for it is deprayed,) and, sad to say, the Governor himself, have committed such atrocities, that if the home government were to fail in its duty of vindicating the character of this country, it will be time for an Englishman who cares honor of his nation to look out for another

No evidence of a wide-spread conspiracy, or of those who were most interested in producing it since the proof that such a peril existed would, as since the proof that such a peril existed would, as they well knew, be the only possible excuse (justi-fication there could be none) for their violations of humanity and law. All the evidence before us tends to show that the disturbance was local and accidental; though the discontent of the negroes may have

been as general as, it is to be feared, it was just.

The result, it is to be hoped, will be a searching inquiry into the state of the island, followed by the abolition or suspension of its mock popular institutions, and its reduction to the condition of a crown colony governed with full powers by a representation of the impractal government, which presentation of the imperial government, which, I r sincerely desires, and always has sincerely deto do justice to the public

No evidence has been brought to light by these free negro, any more than of his incorrigible ferocity. Of course in his desires, and consequently in his industry, he is, as yet, below the level of races which have enjoyed a long training in civilization. Naturally, he is a source to the planter of great dissatisfaction. This is all that has yet been proved against the negro freeholder of Jamaica; and f complains that many of the disaffected are not poor and ignorant, but persons of property and education, which, without industry and a capacity for knowledge, they could not have

The London Times is of course justifying the Governor and the ex-slaveowners in their inhuman severities, and demanding that the negro, as an incorrigible barbarian, shall be put again under the lash. But I confess that if I were compelled to put anybody under the lash on the ground of barbarism, I should, on the evidence before me, choose to put, not the ex-slave, but the ex-slaveowner and the managers of the Times.

At all events, I trust that the negro race will n be allowed to suffer in the judgment of nations and statesmen for the alleged faults of the negroes in Jamaica, until judicial investigation shall have placed the whole case of the negroes in Jamaica and of their encuries fairly before the world.

Yours, &c.,

Oxford, Dec. 2, 1865.

to tipe have given facts which prove that the negroes, under similar circumstances, are as humane as the dominant races. Now, take for granted, if you please—I do not—that all the cruellies reported during the recent insurrection in Jamaica are true: take also for granted that the negroes are entirely the aggressors, and I appeal to every candid mind to answer this question, whether the aggressors would have been dealt with in so summary a manner if they had belonged to the dominant race, and their complexions had been white instead of black? It has been with feelings of intense gratitude that the colored race have turned with confidence to one fact, i. e., that since the decision of Lord Mansfield, in 1772, every human being, without any reference whatever to a difference of complexion, was an equal before the law. If they committed any crime, whatever to a difference of complexion, was an equal before the law. If they committed any crime, they expected to be legally tried and punished, they expected to be legally tried and punished. But there is a change in the public opinion in Great Britain in reference to the colored race. There are generous as they are unjust are made upon the negro race and their descendants. The "West Inan interest" always had this hatred towards a race dian interest always had this native towards a law-they had oppressed. This conduct shocked the moral sense of the better portion of the English people, and slavery was forced to yield. Since the civil war in the United States, the Southern Confederates and their natural allies, these former West Indian planters, have united together to endeavor to neutralize the interest felt for the oppressed negroes, and to hold them up to the scorn and contempt of the civilized world. No matter what a colored man may do—whether it is a crime committed, or some slight impropriety, it is exaggerated, and no-ticed in the most insulting manner. I have read the pro-slavery newspapers in the United States with most careful attention for more than a quarter of a century, but I have never read more insulting attacks upon the negro race than I have read within the last four years in some of the London journals Within the last month, I have read attacks upon the negro race which would disgrace any Southern Confederate or negro-hating Northerner. We are expected to be not only equal to the dominant races, but to excel in all that goes toward forming a noble manhood or womanhood. We are expected to develop in the highest perfection a race which for eight generations in the United States has been laden with the curse of slavery. Even some of our friends seem to expect this, but our enemies demand it. Now take the four and a half millions of "freedit. Now, take the four and a half millions of " freedin the States, and consider the tempts made by our enemies to prove that they are unfitted for freedom. I ask the English public to investigate the facts in reference to negro character, as devoloped there during the present century, and

man face, rack their poetic fancies for liveries of mutilation which their slaves shall wear for life, and carry with them to the grave." Our cup of bitterness is more than full. It negroes or colored men commit crime in Jamaica, or anywhere else, exact the full penalty, but do not make it the occasion of the most insulting and unjust attacks upon a whole

race, on account of a

MONUMENT TO COLONEL SHAW.

SARAH P. REMOND.

tions have mutilated their slaves, and not unfre

learn to write with pens of red-hot iron on the hu-

BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

The two colored regiments, prepared and sent forth by Massachusetts, have returned home and been nustered ont. Officers and privates are now dis-persed. The last music has died away in the air. Of these two famous regiments, which made such a mark on the times, nothing now remains but the memory. This cannot die; for it belongs to the history of a race. But all who went have not returned. fory of a race. But all who went and true, who was selected by the Governor to command the 54th regiment, fell at the head of his men on the very apets of the rebel enemy, and was buried in th and with his humble companions in arms,-thus in death as in life sharing their fortunes. Family parents, wife, were left to mourn. As was said of the "bonny George Campbell," in the beautiful Scotch song, "Home came the saddle, but never

that pleasant day of May, when this colored ment, with Col. Shaw on horseback at its head, passed by the State House, where it had been equipped and inspired. Cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs greeted it. There were tears also. It was a joyous and a sad sight to see this new legion, acquired to the national service, and marching to its distant and perilons duty under a commander who turned away from all the blandishments of life to consecrate himself to his country. There was also another consecration which was not forgotten. It was to the redemption of a race. Massa-chusetts had sent forth many brave regiments; but here was the first regiment of colored soldiers that was marshalled at the North. It was an experiment, destined to be an epoch. By the success of this regiment, a whole race was elevated.

Not long after came the tidings of the bloody assault on Fort Wagner, when, after an advance without parallel over an open beach, exposed to a storm of shot and shell, these new-made soldiers of a despised color, sleepless, dinnerless, supperless, vindicated their title as bravest of the brave. They had done what no other troops had done during the war. This was their Bunker Hill, and Shaw was the Warren who fell. Though defeated, they were vet victorious. The regiment was driven back; but the cause was advanced. The country learned to know colored troops, and they learned to know themselves. From that day of conflict, nobody doubted their capacity or courage as soldiers. There was sorrow in Massachusetts as we were told how many had fallen, and that the beloved officer so recently seen in our streets was lying in an unknown recently seen in our streets was lying in an inknown grave; but even this sorrow did not blind an intelli-gent people to the magnitude of the event. Grief was chastened by an honest pride. Swelling hearts were soothed by the thought that much had been

one for humanity.

There was a desire at once for a monument to orate alike the hero and the the rebellion was then raging. It was no time for nonuments. At last, with the overthrow of the ebel arms, the time seems to have arrived. The couthful commander still sleeps with his comrades a death. There let him sleep. bey has no resting-place more honorable. But his patriotic martyrdom and the great event deserve ommemoration, as well for gratitude as for example nound or a pile of stones to be seen by ships as the

the martyr was born, and where the regiment was born also. Each belonged to Massachusetts; the martyr by double title, first, as be drew his breath here, and, secondly, as he commanded this regiment of Massachusetts. Let the monument be here. Of course, no common stone or shaft will be sufficient. It must be of bronze. It must be an equestrian statue. And there is a place for it. Let it stand the State House that the regiment was equipped and inspired. It was out of the State House that the devoted commander rode to death. Let future generations, as long as bronze shall endure, look upon him there riding always, and be taught by his of one blood," interested in a common redemption, or ample to suggest the control to the co upon him there riding always, and be taught by his of one blood," interested in a common redemption example to succor the oppressed and to surrender heirs of the same immortal destiny! Hail, angels it life to duty. Here is a theme for art, and its elegiory, and spirits of the just made perfect, and tone ments are youth, beauty, self-sacrifice, death, and a great cause, all marking an epoch of history.

On the continent of Europe, by existing usage, only members of a royal family are allowed the honor of an equestrian statue. In the unequalled monument by Rauch, at Berlin, the royal Fritz is mounted, but his generals are about him standing. Near by is Blucher, who was prince and marshal, —Editor of the Liberator.

NEGRO CHARACTER.

To the Editor of the London Daily News:
Sir :—Will you allow me to say a word in defence of the most hated race in the world, the negroes and their descendants? Newsithstanding the attention of the most hated race in the world, the negroes and their descendants? Netwithstanding the attention of the negroes and their descendants? Netwithstanding the attention of the negroes are negretary to the negroes and their descendants? of the most hated race in the world, the negroes and their descendants? Notwithstanding the attempt on the part of our enemies, I think it will be difficult to prove that the negroes are more savage than other races. Unprejudiced observers from time to tipe have given facts which prove that the negroes, and who was last seen in our streets on borseback. As an American citizen, he belonged to our sovereignty, and we fitly celebrate him with the highest honors. Few belonging to any royal family have so good a title. In the republics of Italy, during the early ages, when royalty did not exist, there were equestrian statues. The first of these in merit, and one of the first in time, was the recowned status in brozes of these.

tor without a superior among living artists, whe soul and genius would be in the work. Alread colored person, well-known among us, with a he full of gratitude, has subscribed five hundred dollar many causes for this change, and for which the colored race are in no way to blame. Attacks as unsums, according to their means. They properly sums, according to their means. They properly lead now in tribute to him who died in leading them. But others of ampler means must see that this generous effort does not fail. I should not sugother things deserving aid. The present charity is so peculiar, that it appeals equally to all who are moved by patriotism, by gratitude, by sympathy, or by art.

The Diberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1865.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION, DECLARING

Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME, GREETING :

Know ye, that whereas the Congress of the United States, on the 1st of February last, passed Resolution, which is in the words following, viz :

"A Resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the veral States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States :

of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, particularly during the civil war. Compare their character in reference to cruelty with their masters, "the chivalry of the South," who for eight generatwo-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatu quently during the present generation burnt their victims to death; who, in the words of one of your shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of said

own countrymen, "notch the ears of men and women, cut pleasant poesies in their shrinking flesh, ARTICLE XIII. SECTION 1. NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, EXCEPT AS A PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME, WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED, SHALL EXIST WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, OR ANY PLACE SUBJECT TO THEIR JURISDICTION.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this rticle by appropriate legislation.

And whereas, it appears from official documents on file in this Department, that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States. proposed as aforesaid, HAS BEEN RATIFIED by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Lousiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina-in all, twenty-seven States;

And whereas, the whole number of States in the United States is thirty-six:

And whereas, the before specially name States, whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States: Now, therefore, be it known that I. William

H. Seward, Secretary of the United States, by ble suffering which must accompany the transit head, virtue and in pursuance of the second section of period from slavery to manhood, and of securing the act of Congress, approved on the 20th of to them a measure of the rights and opportunities April, 1818, entitled "An act to provide for the United States" the whole power of American law, justice, conthe publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes, do hereby certify that THE AMENDMENT AFORESAID HAS BECOME VALID, TO every sense a freeman and a citizen. Will we, the ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, AS PART OF THE CON-STITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at Washington, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1865, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

With our own hands we have put in type this nspeakably cheering and important official annou nent that, at last; the old "covenant with death" annulled, and the "agreement with hell" no longer stands. Not a slave is left to clank his fetters, of the nillions that were lately held in seemingly hopeles ondage. Not a slaveholder may dare to present his claim of property in man, or assume the prerogative personal freedom is secured for all who dwell on the American soil, irrespective of complexion or the old recognized right of each State to establish the system ad libitum; but it is the prohibition, by "the supreme law of the land," duly ratified, to enslav a human being in any part of our national domain or to restore what has been overthrown. It is, come Westminster Ab- quently, the complete triumph as well as utter term

nation of the Anti-Slavery struggle, as such. Rejoice, and give praise and glory to God, ye who ave so long and so untiringly participated in all the nmemoration, as well for grafitude as for example, me have proposed a monument on the spot where trials and vicissitudes of that mighty conflict! Having sown in tears, now reap in joy. Hail, redeemed, reter the harbor of Charleston. This is not enough. will not tell the whole story.

The monument should be in Massachusetts, where
Righteousness, thus mightily strengthened and sigent claims, its new duties, its Imperative obligation its sublime opportunities! Hail, the Future, with its pregnant hopes, its glorious promises, its illimital powers of expansion and development! Hail, ye ransomed millions, no more to be chained, scourged mutilated, bought and sold in the market, robbed on one of the stone terraces of the steps that ascend all rights, bunted as partridges upon the mountains in from Beacon street to the State House. It was in your flight to obtain deliverance from the house of bondage, branded and scorned as a connecting link heirs of the same immortal destiny! Hail, angels in glory, and spirits of the just made perfect, and tun your harps anew, singing, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true

THE AMENDMENT ADOPTED.

On Tuesday morning last, the official, authoritative announcement was sent over the whole country, with lightning speed, that the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY and its PROHIBITION forever were engratted upon the United States Constitution, and had become parof the fundamental LAW OF THE LAND!

The Senate of the United States adopted this great measure in April, 1864, by a vote of 37 year to 6 The House of Representatives passed it on the Slat of January of the present year,-119 year to 56 nays. And it has since been ratified by 29 States,more than the requisite three-fourths, Oregon and Cal-ifornia baving added their names to the list within a day or two, but of which no official notice has yet reached Washington. Iowa and New Jersey will thus the Constitutional abolition and probibition of Slavery in the United States, and in all places subject to their jurisdiction, are secured by an overwhelming decision of Congress, of the States, and of the American people.

We believe our readers will find nothing in our colnmns this week of such interest as the Proclamation of this great event. It is the final crowning and completion of the labors of the American Abolitionists, as such. It is that great end for which they have toiled in dark days, in evil days, amidst obloquy, persecution, ridicule, violence, and amongst an unbelieving and unwilling people. It is the triumph which they saw in the far distant future, but never expected to see in the mortal body. Thousands of them lived not to see it, yet received its promise afar off, and embraced it. May we not say, again and again-

"How blessed are our eyes,
Which see this glorious light!
Prophets and kings desired it long,
But died without the sight."

We cannot express the feelings of gratitude and joy with which we think upon this grand result of all anti slavery effort,-this glorious consummation of the wa which the slaveholders in their madness dared to in augurate against the Government and People of the United States. Through a fearful Red Sea we have indeed gone, but the pillar of fire has led our doubtful though not wholly undiscerning steris, through the heavy night, has guided us safely through ten thousand periis, has saved us when we knew not how to save ourselves, and has set our feet. as a people, in sure place. We repeat, the Axti-Slavert work is DONE! The Nation, by a vast majority, has confessed the principles of the Anti-Slavery movement to be just, has fully recognized the truth of their word and prophecy concerning Slavery, has put its mighty hand o the overthow of Siavery, and has overthrown it. He is blind indeed, or sadly prejudiced, or culpably unjust to man and Providence, who speaks lightly of this great event, or who represents it as of little worth No greater deed .- what deed so great, so truly noble. so worthy of our best past, so full of promise for our future-has this Nation ever done? It is the voice of the whole People, condemning Slavery as the great Criminal of the land, and banishing it forever from the national soil. The work to which the Anti-Slavery apostles put their hands thirty-five years ago, and which they dared not hope to see accomplished, is accomplished! " Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord !"

"It is done In the circuit of the sun Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth! Ring and swing
Bells of joy! on morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad;
With a sound of broken chains,
Tell the nation that He reigns
Who alone is Lord and God!"

No candid reader will understand us to say that the illennium has arrived, that the lion and the lamb now lie down together in peace and concord, or that nothing remains to us to do but to fold our hands, and await meekly our translation to bliss. Some indeed may need this explanation to reassure them; but our readers generally need no such disclaimers. For such as have eyes but see not, we know not how to shape our

The overthrow of Slavery leaves us in no position of ease, gives us no warrant to relax our diligence or our determination; but mightily encourages us to put forth both. In the great work of the Abolition of Slavery, we have succeeded. Now we have the further, the equally needful, if not the equally difficult work, of shielding the emancipated for science, sense of consistency and duty, and bring all to bear on the work of making the freedmen in people of the United States, pass by and forget our true and constant friends at the South, the faithful guides of our armies, the helpers of our escaping prisoners, refuse them the ballot, refuse them ho land, and give all these to the rebel-rout who brought the war on us, murdered our imprisoned soldiers with slow torture, and whose mouths are still full of curses and insults for us? Perish the thought! When the Nation is ready to commit suicide, to blot out its whole honorable history, to trample under foot its Constitution and Declaration of Independence, prostrate itself again at the feet of European kings or emperors, and ask them to come and govern us, will it do this act of utter baseness and wilful self-destruction, and not, we believe, until then.

But to return. To-day there is no slavery in our land,-no slaves, held by force of any law, decree, or constitution. Slaveholding is henceforth a crime, of heinous character. Every man or woman subjected to slavery, from and after the eighteenth of December, 1865, will have cause of action in every United States Court, and State Court, against such criminal, may lay his damages at a thousand dollars a day, and must gain his cause. It will be one special duty of the Freedmen's Bureau, of the Freedmen's Commission, and every individual friend of justice in the land, to see that every victim of the old slaveholders has this opportunity. We see, with satisfaction, that Gen. Fisk, of the Bureau, has established special courts for the freedmen in Tennessee, which State has refused to allow negroes to testify or have rights in its courts. This is right and necessary. Let the same spirit be manifested everywhere. Congress has shown unmistakably its purpose. What if Mr. Sew-ard, in his proclamation, does seem to recognize the rebel States as in the Union, as some are in trepidation telling us? He has always recognised them there; but to what practical purpose? While Congress refuses their representatives admission to the halls of legislation, it is but an empty matter that either President or Secretary recognizes them. Never let them re-appear there, until they come with guarantees of justice to all men, and with an honest par pose to abide by the Constitution and laws of the land. We have both the power and right to prevent the endless mischief which must come from a disregard of such guarantees. Undoubtedly we shall. We can and must be firm in this position, until it is safe for ourselves, safe for the whole people of the South, to take another. How fittingly does the Constitutional Amendment

time itself to the closing days of the Liberator's protracted labors! After thirty-five years of its existence during which it has not failed to appear on any week, it had announced its purpose to cesse its pub at the close of the present month; and, lot just Constitutional Abolition of Slavery becomes a fact becomes the recorded will of the people, the established law of the land! We will not think of this as a mere accident. We reverently and gratefully own the Divine hand.-s. M., JR.

CAUSE OF THE FREEDMEN.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Repres of the United States, in Congress assembled :

The undersigned, on behalf of the various Freednen's Aid Associations, respectfully represent that they are engaged in supplying the pressing wants of the colored people at the South, and in furnishing them with instruction, not only in letters, but in the arts of life. Large sums have been expended, and hundreds of teachers have been employed in this great charity. Some of the noblest and most intelligent men and women of the country are mengaged! Not a few have died in the discharge of this duty.

We have regarded it as a work not only of humanity, but of patriotism. We have felt that the honor of our nation demanded that we should care for those speedily add themselves to the glorious column; and whom the chances of civil war have thrown upon our guardianship. We are sure that national prosperity, domestic peace, and lasting strength will be moted by general education. Those who differ most widely as to the political questions of the day, agree in desiring the spread of knowledge among a class heretofore deprived of instruction.

Our agents have been highly successful. They have found the freedmen docile, obedient, and grateful, ready to work, eager to learn. Their industry and enterprise have been praiseworthy. The proso earnestly, so perseveringly, so uncompromisingly, gress of the race in learning is among the wonders in the annals of education.

We have enjoyed, to a large extent, the encourage ment and protection of Government; and we are un-willing to believe that its favor will be withdrawn from us with the return of peace. But we fear that, without Congressional action, the friends of the Freedmen may find their energies crippled, and their efforts, thwarted. The mere withdrawal of military rule, and the return of civil law, desirable as these blessings are, deprive our teachers of the support which has been their safeguard during the war. We ask you in your wisdom to adopt such legislation as shall be a abstitute for the protection of martial law.

The freedmen in some places having been sent to certain points, by no choice of their own, but by the United States authorities, are now removed under circumstances of great hardship, by the same author ity. They lose their lands, and the fruit of their lain improving them. In one instance, the farm to which they were assigned, after being increased in value by the erection of a mill, a school-house, and a church, was restored to those whose estate had been II. Not in Word. W. H. FURNESS. HIL The True forfeited by rebellion. We ask for protection, or for compensation for such hardships.

Our agents and teachers, who are seeking to pronote the welfare of the whole South, often find the selves objects of suspicion and contempt, of hatred and outrage. In one instance, at least, this feeling has led to the forcible destruction of a church erected for Christian worship. In many cases, smaller wrongs have been patiently borne. We cheerfully await the growth of that enlightened public sentiment which will correct the errors of ignorance; in the mean time, we hope to be secured from actual violence, wherever the United States have the rightful power to protect us. And we expect much moral trength from the official sanction of the Legislative and Executive Departments We have hoped that the Freedmen's Direau would

be an efficient instrument for maintaining the rights and elevating the condition of the freed slaves. have regretted to see its usefulness impaired by the want of sufficient appropriations for its support. And we hear its speedy abolition foretold by all who are hostile or indifferent to the claims of the freedmen. We ask that it may be continued, and sustained in such a way that it may exert a powerful and beneficent influence over the affairs of these wards of the nation, until such time as the desired end may be at. tained by State enactments.

And we ask, generally, that such action may be had by your honorable bodies as will encourage and aid the full exercise of the charities of humane and loval men toward emancipated slaves, so that their ignorance may no longer be a curse to them and to ociety: that they may be fitted for their new position under the law; that some portion of our great debt to their race may be paid: that the honor of our coun try may be promoted; and that, by doing justice and ercy, we may as a people deserve the favor of Almighty God.

MATTHEW SIMPSON. President. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, First Vice President. CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Second Vice President JACOB R. SHIPHERD, Secretary.

GEORGE C. WARD, Treasurer. HUGH L. BOND, President Eastern Den J. MILLER McKIM, Secretary Eastern Department. CHARLES P. McILVAINE, President Western De-

JOHN M. WALDEN, Secretary Western Department.

PEACE CONFERENCE.

A conference of the friends of Peace was held in Boston on the 12th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M. A good number was present; among whom were several distinguished reformers. The meeting was called to order by Edward D. Draper, Esq., of Hopedale, and after reading the call of the conference, Joshua P. Blanchard, Esq., of Boston, was chosen Chairman, and Lysander S. Richards, Secretary. After presiding over the meeting a short time, the Chairman, on account of illness, resigned in favor of Hon. Amasa Walker, who performed the duties of the office the remainder of

A letter was read from Judge A. W. G. Carter, of Cincinnati, regretting his inability to be present. He favored the organization of a National Society and a Congress of Nations to establish permanent peace. Now is the time to educate and elevate mankind. are all striving for heaven: who thinks of force, violence and war in heaven? Why the necessity of force, violence and war upon earth ! Shall we reach heaven, or the consociation of angels, by the adoption and practise of that which is not known there or among them? No! that is not the way to reach a superior plane of existence."

B. J. Butts, of Hopedale, spoke against the practical bility of sudden conversions to peace, and in favor of battling the violated conditions of war, and the prosecution of a moral, non-resistant war in behalf of Peace. Hon, Amasa Walker spoke of the American Peace Society. He had been interested in the cause of Peace for thirty-three years. He believed it necessary that the country should be buptized in blood to learn the evils of war. The time has now arrived when further wars should cease, and the armaments of war be speedily reduced.

Henry C. Wright spoke of first principles, and truck at the root of the whole subject. He declared that human rights cannot be protected by force. Military power has been resorted to, but never yet had it given them protection. He believed in self-abnegation more than self-preservation. He hoped that a Society would be formed to seek the abolition of war. and did not believe in taking the life of any human being. He moved a committee be appointed to call a National Peace Convention.

L. K. Josslyn, of Providence, R. I., der n strong terms the inaction of the American Peace Society, and favored the organization of a new Society, called the American Peace Society, of Boston. He also believed in the wide dissemination of Peace tracts.

Mr. Stewart, of Hopedale, followed, urging the ecessity of educating the people to the use of moral power only.

J. P. Blanchard addressed the meeting, and hoped that all past differences among the friends of per would be forgotten, and that all would now unite in one grand effort to further the best interests of Peace. He

was for battling the spirit of all wars, civil and foreign. Rev. J. G. Fish, of New Jersey, did not believe in sacrificing a life to any individual interest. He had no confidence in a congress of nations, but believed

Rev. Adin Ballou called on the Chai Walker, to state the moral and fina the American Peace Society, Mr. Walker stating that the Society had not been dis the war. He, as an individual, was as much to war as ever, but believed war a ner there is no preparation on the part of the prevent it. The people must obviate the war. He believed in a congress of nations court. He did not care whether one Christian or unchristian, but he wanted fri beliefs to unite in furthering the cause of Pea

Ezra H. Hey wood argued the necessit var in our own land, here among our peer where we find it. He believed in the diss of Peace tracts and papers. The time, he done had arrived for action, for the people are done of a permanent peace.

H. C. Wright's motion for the appointment of a ommittee to call a National Peace Convention for purpose of organizing a Society, or inaugurating ten ovement to better advance the true inte Peace, prevailed, and the following committees chosen :- Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale; Lynch S. Richards, of Quincy; Ezra H. Heywood, of Price ton; Rev. Dr. Beckwith and Joshua P. Blanches, of Boston; Alfred H. Love, of Philadelphia; Education Draper, of Hopedale; Rev. J. G. Fish, of New Jr. sey; Wm. S. Heywood, of West Newton; Henry II. Brigham, of South Abington; Lucretta Mott, Philadelphia; H. C. Wright and Dr. A. B. Child, Boston; Thos. Hunt, of Salem, Judge A. W. C. Carter, of Cincinnati; Mrs. Mary Daris, of Hopedale, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase, of Valley Falls, R. I.; Will. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston.

Mr. R. Wyman, of Roxbury, addressed the meeting briefly. He thought that man assumed too much in snatching the power from God to take the life of his children.

A. H. Love, of Philadelphia, argued the propriety of forming a World's Society, and auxiliary societies. At the close of Mr. Love's brief and excellent address the Conference dissolved:

The Committee's call for a National Convention will publicly appear in due course of time.

THE RADICAL. The contents of the December umber are the following :-

I. On the Foundations of Religion Belief-lies and Imaginary Authority. SAMUEL Jon Light (Poetry) IV. Do Men Need Salvation ! C WHIPPLE, V. The Lord's Supper. Davin. Bowen. VI. The Lost Thought. (Putry.) VII. Personal Experience.-How I turned "Parkerile." FRED. MAY HOLLAND. VIII. England at the Grave Palmerston. M. D. Conway. IX. Letter from JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

Most of these articles are serious and carnest effects towards reform in Religion; or, in other words, towards substituting true Christianity for the comple version of it generally taught by the clergy, and per erally received by the people. They well express the claim made in the title-page, that THE RADICAL is 'a monthly magazine, devoted to religion," We be eve that the time is fully come for the hearty recontion and support of just such a magazine as the four umbers thus far issued prove thems yet radical reform in religion, the full expression of the ideas included in Christian freedom, is not so for advanced but that its friends must bestir themselves to circulate the periodical which represents it, and to see that this warfare is not carried on entirely at the ost of the editor.

The last of the articles above named is a criticism.

y Rev. James Freeman Clarke, upon the admirable scourse of Samuel Johnson (entitled "Bond or Free ") in the October number of THE RADICA To the present writer it seems that this criticism gives an utterly erroneous idea of Mr. Johnson, and "those whom he represents," by declaring or insinuating that they consider themselves to have "out grown Christianity," or that they regard Christianity as a stepping-stone " to something better. A charge like this was often falsely made against Theodor Parker. It ought not to be alleged or even implied against Mr. Johnson without presentation of evidence I judge also that these other things, stated or imblied in Dr. Clarke's letter, are incorrect, namelythat Mr. Johnson asserts " that we must not read the words of Jesus or Paul with a predisposition in their favor, expecting to find in them truth rather than error": and that Christian radicals of Mr. Johnson's type go "to science, to the Vedas, to Emerson and Thoreau, to Theodore Parker, Herbert Spencer and instead of in addition to Christ and the Bible; and

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The corresponlent of the Boston Journal, Perley, gives an interesting reminiscence of a speech be once heard from John Randolph, of Virginia, levelled against the egroes of the District, Quakers, and all other philanthropists, and which resulted in increased rigor of the District Police against the colored people. He then proceeds to speak of the change in things there

that "if we reject Jesus, [as an authoritative teacher,]

we shall take Auguste Comte or Herbert Spencer :-

and that the proper attitude for the devont soul is to

believe in order to understand." In all these mat-

ters it seems to me that Dr. Clarke either misrepre

sents Christian radicalism, or teaches something less

worthy than it teaches .- c. K. W.

New England can well be proud of the part taken by

New England can well be proud of the part take by her Representatives in Congress, in not only emanupating the slaves in this District, but in securing the blacks good treatment and equality before the law. Hon. Henry Wilson has been especially conspicuous in this work, and his speeches have a different mighton those of John Randolph and the Northern Copperbeads of later days.

Yesterday, Senator Wilson presented the petition of Francis Cook, and two thousand five hundred others, colored citizens of this District of Columbia, asking for the right of suffrage. The petitioners set torth that a large proportion of the colored citizens of the District are property-holders and tax-payers. They claim that as they are sufficiently intelligent to build and sustain churches and institutions of learning, and to accumulate property, they are also sufficiently intelligent to vote; that for years they have been obliged not only to educate their own children, but obliged not only to educate their own childs to contribute to the support of the schools it only white children were taught; that the r only white children were tangen; the colored people as to crime and parperism is as fair ms any other class in the country; out of a population of less than 15,000 they sent 35:00 soldiers into the field, while the white population (over 00,000) furnished only 15:00, and the colored soldiers volunteered without the incentives of large bounties, pay, or provided.

The old fogy corporation of this city have waked a he old logy corporation of this ear appear to the importance of this question of suffrage, and they are in terrible trouble seeing clearly that if all tax payers be all vote, a municipal reform would cause. The in an official communication, endeavors to appear that there is no danger, and to stop age of resolutions on the subject. sage of resolutions on the subject-believe that President Johnson will be

censure to Washington city the option he has accorded to the white inhabitants of the States so lately it rebellion. We shall see.

Meanwhile, Congress has so reconstructed its Committees on the District of Columbia, that the loyal people here—whites and blacks—will be fairly hand, justly treated. Slavery has been destroyed, but there are great evils to be eradicated, and the oligards there are great evils to be eradicated, and the of other days, who used to insult all North of other days, who used to insult all Northern are now to reap the fruit of their insolence. New England is represented on the committee on the District of Columbia by Senators Morrill and Sumner, and Representative Baldwin—good men and true. The result of their labors would have astorished John Randolph, could be have foreseen what would transpire in less than thirty years after he make the speech of which I send my recollections.—PRELEX.

"ACROSS THE CONTINENT. Speaker of the United States Seember 22 tives, will lecture at Tremost Temple, December 22 on his recent trip across the continent, including his experiences and observations in Utah. Hon. A He Bullock will preside, and a very interesting and value Bullock will preside, and a very interesting and value.

THE GEN. As the Li signed would before they o miliar and w parting word ssociated in (wenty-fire) many of their (with a comp ill-health) h Society, and ral Agent of has given ne

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THE GENERAL AGENT TO HIS FRIENDS.

As the Liberatur approaches its close, the under-As the could willingly use a little space in its columns, ed would winningly use a finite space in its columns, is they cease to be, as so long they have been, faat and welcome visitors to our homes, to say some of words to those with whom he has so long been mag words the Anti-Slavery work. For upwards of realy-five years he has been a fellow-member with of them of the Massachusetts and American Ansately Societies, and for the last eighteen years sales comparatively brief interruption by reason of Shakh) has been the General Agent of the former exty, and also for much of that time Acting Gene-Secty, and and on allow of the third Acting Genebe eren nearly his undivided time, and whatever of ongth and ability he possessed, to the active labors longing to that office. The work was so vast that aeither individual, committee, nor Society,and map it out, or grasp it. The roots and fibres of Sarely were so strangely interwoven with nearly all harragements of society, business, politics, religion' common life, that it was in vain to try to disenprist them. It was a Gordian knot which, as we parted after a time, never could be untied, but must panel mer a more, never count be dutted, but must and marrow of the land, and sunder North from So we could not work amiss. Go where we seek Slavery lifted up its head, or rattled its ignant scales, or hissed its hate and venom. ser, in the might of truth, justice and humanity, we spoke a bold and uncompromising word for liberty, to final the enemy confronting us, and knew we did Never were fewer random shots net year in the Abolitionists. Every village-meeting was a skirmish, at least, with the guerrillas of surry, every Convention was a pitched battle; and we discovered, in due time, that, while never overome of defeated, our greatest victories were in just the pixes where we had seemed to be the most nearly world. Yet it was to all human appearance a hopeless nsk-that of assailing with any view to weaken one to which only fanaticism, or credulity, gas enthusiasm most unnatural and out of place on American soil, would commit itself. How many that were who, in the warmth of first convictions, ir hearts to the cause, but who, in the cool reon of the following days, having counted the cost, percel sway, and passed by on the other side! e have me excused," was the general cry.

But I seek not to recall these things. Rather do I ne congratulate those who have stood together to the end. I congratulate them that they have stood pismayed by the turmidable front of Slavery, undeand by its hollow pretences, having a soul above its wiles, a conscience above its law, a courage above its mean crucities, a spirit above its sordid motives and brenk. And still more; I desire fervently to thank Gel with them and for them, that we have been prengthened and made able to stand fast, and to endure unto the end. I am sure they will all say, with me, that they would not blot out the record of their own And Slavery life, no matter how humble it may have amented to others' eyes or to their own, for all the grandeur and show which life ever gives, nor for all exealth which time serving could have accumuhad. The treasure which cannot be taken from us is ours,-provided that we prove the sincerity and reality of former service by "continuing unto the

And how continue? Let every one be fully persaided in his own mind. Shall we continue in old channels and in small societies, to wage apparent war upon an institution which is already annihilated ! lamy judgment, no. Slavery, by the joint action of Congress and of the States, is abolished in our land, is at an end forever. No more slavery here, NEVER ANOTHER SLAVE held by force of any law, rule, or eastom! All Slavedom bows, appalled, before the majestic verdict of the American People, and the hideous monster will never dare again to lift his head. To re-organize unii-slavery societies when no slavery crists is idle work, and is redeemed from being farrical only by the strong sincerity which impels any to do it. Why linger in the past? Why insist on the old forms, when the spirit has gone forward to new work, -to rear a grand structure of justice on the tuins of slavery, and in the very place where it fell? Even the old forms of our association cannot be kept. Many who were carliest to enlist in the warfare against slavery have already gone forward, and are stending their strength, means, and life even, in self serificing labors for the emancipated people, and the such, -surrounded by peril, their very lives in daily friends would pay for them. I should keep it sacred. citizen of the Union will meet only freemen, in the RUTH BUFFUM, declaring they "cannot leave it," -such satisfaction and reward do they find in it.

Doubtless the spirit of slavery is still rife and ma-lignant in the land. But it is not in the ascendant now, and never again will be! Its sun is rapidly going down in shame and in night. The contempti ble, hideous thing can be borne of men no longer; and ere long it will be unable to endure the remembrance of itself. The glorious day-star of Freedom is far above the horizon, and the faces of millions of new worshippers turn with glad joy to its blessed and beneficent light. Will the abolitionists segregate themselves from this mighty throng, who come now, with generous, noble devotion, with endeavors to atone for past indifference or ignorance to do all that human sympathy and effort can for the ransomed, yet suffering ones of our land? Not so! Let no farrew estimate of ourselves induce us to stand aloof, let no unworthy distrust of others prevent our gladly perating in the new work of this new day. A new work and a vast one it is. Every town, every church, must organize, and do its part for the millions of our wronged brothers, our long defrauded fellow-men; for those who are, too, for a time, "the Nation's Wards." Yet, if poor, not so through fault of theirs. The labor of their lives, their toll and bloody sweat, and that of their children, has been stolen from them. Others have lived in case and comfort on what has been wrong from their years of honest industry. And among these others, who at the North can claim to be wholly exempt ?

organize then and be ready, ye life-time friends of the slave, to lift him up as a freedman, and to set his feet on sure ground! Thousands stand ready to work with you, to acknowledge the value of your expetience, to combine their counsels and efforts with yours. Be not slow to give these, or to exhort and anihate others to this new and great work. Do not despise the eleventh hour laborers. Take heed that ye do not quench the spirit rising up to pity and help he aforetime outcast and stranger. The old Society was the best, the only vital agent to do its own work. A far different work is now ready to our hands, an equally great duty still is before us. Let the vigor of and strength of conscience of the old Abolitionists be infused into, and thoroughly leaven the entire mass of public sentiment and purpose. So it shall accomplish, by diffusion, a thousand-fold more than by solation, and show itself true to the divine command, Go forward." Not one talent now existing in the anti-slavery body will be lost, but each one will be multiplied in efficacy thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and more. Surely there is danger before us. The vigilance, and labor of every man are absolutely indispensable and no one can be excused. It is no time to stand idle no time to boast, no time to lay our armor saide. Whether with old organizations or new, under one

name or another, we are to take care not to wander from the essential duty of standing firmly by the redmen and their friends everywhere. And in justice to their cause, let us discountenance and disown the morbid spirit of fault-finding which has become ronic with some anti-slavery writers, which always finds cause to inveigh, to predict mischief, to antici-Pate evil, never sees a ray of light for itself, and never affords a ray of hope to others. The wonder-working providence of God has dealt with us too strangely, and should be amended in form, as it really is in fact, be-cals,"—was placed. at the head of the Freedmen's speak.

THE LIBERATOR.

Birney, and a host of other choice spirits, of whom

the world was not worthy, have died in sight of the

promised land, you have been permitted to enter it-

to see the final, joyful consummation of all your labors -and to hear the welcome plaudit, " Well done,

good and faithful servant!" To you and yours, to

your numerous contributors and subscribers, I tender

Some years have elapsed since I read Sue's " Mys-

teries of Paris," but I remember well the scene in

which the good-natured ruffian Chourineur, having

been suddenly visited with an irresistible shower of

blows from an unseen antagonist, recognized neverthe-less this master of the pugilistic art, and surrendered

at discretion, crying, "Thunder! its Monsieur Ro-

were present at the opening session of the Senate, the

ther day, and staggered under Mr. Sumner's remorse-

In fact, the thirty-ninth Congress has made a good

beginning, and the President has furnished it a very

proper text. The fears of a rupture between him and

fall elections. His message tells no new truths, as-

sumes no new positions, abandons no old ones; if he

the gage. A conflict may be imminent; he will not

precipitate it. He has chosen not to be explicit, in

order that he might not be offensive. Those who do

press chants the praises of the message, and one would

Obscure as is the issue of the debates to which the

that a new era has dawned upon our politics with

the first word of Mr. Johnson to his first Congress

generalities" has returned ablaze. It is at such

an auspicious moment, and on the parting line

between the shadow of compromise and the sun-

streak of principle, that the Liberator ceases to exist

Slavery, to be sure, is not absolutely out of sight:

it digged for its own grave when it thought to make

a stronghold from which to overawe the continent.

Nevertheless, the fabric cannot rise again. It is buried

sent out against it, and the seal of the Constitutional

Amendment is on the lips of its sepulchre. Some

pretend that the seal is not yet affixed. A Kentucky

Judge has affirmed the contrary, and a United States

General has proclaimed the decision of the bench.

Secretary Seward is more fastidious, and employs a

different reckoning from that of Johnson and Palmer.

But a corpse that is only held together by the red

tape of a legal fiction, is too far gone to become the

With the cessation of the Liberator occurs inevita-

"in a golden air." Then, for one who strayed from

extent of its domain, no one part can be dearer than

another to the lover or freedom. Move where he

and on his native soil there is an end forever to

nay, he will be always at home and in his fatherland,

LETTER FROM AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

DEAR SIR-It will be thirty years the first of Janu-

ary next since I subscribed for the Liberator, I and

have read every number from that time to the pres

ent. I shall miss it very much, but I would not wish

to have it continued after this year. It started for a

great purpose; that purpose is accomplished; its mis-

sion is couled with reference to slavery as an institu-

tion sanctioned by law. I hope we shall have a Proc-

amation from the Secretary of State on or before the

first of January, announcing the fact that negro slave-

ry nowhere exists by authority of the Constitution of

the United States. The columns of No. 52 of the

Liberator will no doubt be very much crowded; many

of the old correspondents will, I think, have a few

parting thoughts to put in print. If the friends of

the Liberator would pay the expense, I should like to

have one more number printed, bearing the date of

Jan. 1, 1866, (Emancipation day.) It would be fitting

that this flag of freedom (which has waved at mast-

head for thirty-five years, through sunshine and storm)

should be struck the day of the anniversary of Pres-

ident Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Let it

be taken down while the cheers and thanksgivings of

think best to publish another number as suggested,

please put me down for a sum equal to six months'

GEN. SAXTON AND THE SEA ISLANDS.

DEAR MR. MAY-You were entirely misinformed

as to Gen. Saxton's participation in the attempt to

Islands. He refused to have any thing to do with it.

When I arrived in Charleston and heard the colored

people speak of Gen. Howard with contempt as "the

had used his influence to induce them to aid the Pres-

ident to "reconstruct" Mr. Whaley and other red-

ment, I volunteered the theory that any military

officer who sided in ousting the blacks would justly

ard's position, I would resign rather than be made a

of principle, and that his hands were clean of the

Yours, truly,

He regards it as a shameless act of perfidy.

Respectfully,

MALADIE DU PAYS.

NEPONSET. Dec. 18, 1865.

Lazarus of any political necromancy.

eneath the martyrs for human liberty whom the North

one may yet trace those "instants substructiones" which

think there was never so popular an Executive.

less trip-hammer, had no difficulty in recognizing a

previous acquaintance. "Thunder! it's the author

'The Five-headed Barbarism!'"

To the Editor of the Liberator :

NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1865.

Expecting soon to close his long term of association | I was very sorry the two wings or the Society could in anti-slavery labors with the readers of this journal, and with other members of anti-slavery societies, but hoping to renew that association with very many of stitution, and then have disbanded with a universal them in steadfast and uncompromising work for the shout of "Glory! Hallelujah!" For thirty years, I freed people, even until they are established in every right of manhood and citizenship enjoyed by any in the isind, the undersigned would speak, at the same time, words of farewell and of salutation,—of farewell sadness and joy—sadness that it is the last; joy, into the past, to the work well chosen, well sustained, expressible, that its mission has been thus fully, thus and well accomplished, and of cheerful welcome and gloriously accomplished. hail to the new duties of the future.

"Build thee more stately manicions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from Heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine out-grown shell by life's unresting sea."

And so, with best wishes and hearty good cheer for all conscientious workers for freedom and truth, by whatsoever path they go, I offer my sincere respects my affectionate farewell. to the many anti-slavery friends with whom I have been so long and pleasantly associated, and bid them, LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XLIX. as their General Agent, farewell.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

LETTER FROM REV. JEHIEL CLAFLIN.

EAST WESTMORELAND, N. H., Dec. 12, 1865. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:-It is with sadness of heart that I contemplate the near approach of the demise of the dear old Liberator, that more than thrice welcome weekly visitor, and advocate and teacher of uncompromising truth and unswerving fidelity to the great interests of humanity, irrespective of color, caste or race; which has been to me, from week to week, a source of cheer and strength for twenty five years. I feel it a privilege to say that to the Liberator and its venerated editor, more than to all other buman instrumentalities and agencies, do I owe the enlightenment of my mind and clearly bringing to my understanding the great truths of human relations and human rights.

From the Liberator I have learned to adhere to duty amid peril, for the truth's sake, and to be true to conscience and to my highest convictions, regardless does not quit the field, neither does he throw down of popular applause. To part with the Liberator is to part with an old and much-valued friend. The mighty truths which it has promulgated have culminated, at last, in the upheaval of the whole nation, and the overthrow of that hoary and gigantic system of unoverthrow of that hoary and gigantic system of un-written and inexpressible suffering and outrage, and all its proportion of the companion of all its unmitigated abominations. Its career has no perversely, and there was so much that was worse to be said had he been inclined. For the present,

For thirty years and more, no man has been so thoroughly and so persistently misrepresented as has general sign of relief all round. Even the Southern been Mr. Garrison. Opportunities have been sought, and none omitted, to hold him up to scorn, and to make his name odious, a synonym for ail that was vile and despicable. What were the doctrines so repulsive, which this modern disturber of the peace had been proclaiming, like a prophet of old, in the ears of this guilty nation ! Why, it was the voice of the everliving God, through this modern as through the ancient prophet, saying: "Break every yoke and let the op-pressed go free."—"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." And the same great truth again, by the Great Teacher .- " All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And still later, by the framers of the Declaration of Independence-" We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal," &c. Simple justice to every human being, and the unrestricted, God-given rights to all; these are the great and mighty truths that have shaken this haughty and oppressive nation like an aspen leaf. And God will " overturn, and overturn, and overturn," until the right at last shall prevail, and justice

The tribute of E. Q., recently, is well merited, and well expresses the sentiments of multitudes in the land. It gives me unfeigned pleasure to see so many now regard it as an honor to greet, with friendly recognition, the indefatigable champion of human

liberty and human rights. Millions now liberated, and a grateful posterity, will bly the winding-up of this correspondence, which also rise up to bless his memory. May thrice ten thousand blessings rest upon him through life, and the hope of in brighter. You know what other more private gloom surrounded its inception, and how its close is

Adieu, dear Liberator, adieu! JEHIEL CLAFLIN.

P. S. I would like exceedingly a number of the not easily appeared. Now, we have changed the sending labors for the emancipated people, and the distribution one slaves, but now free. We know many a reprint of a few hundreds of them, i. e., if the "abi patria," so that it reads, a reprint of a few hundreds of them, i. e., if the "abi patria," ibi libertas." And as henceforth every SARAH H. SOUTHW

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

MR. GARRISON :- I was glad to find Mr. Whipple, in a recent number of the Liberator, take the position that the right to vote is a natural right; and his arguments to prove it, though short, are, to me, clear and unanswerable. If man has an unalienable right to liberty, how can he be rightfully denied the privilege MR, GARRISON : of a voice in making the laws by which those liberties are secured? If government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, whence comes the power to govern men without or against this consent? I have seen, with surprise, the statement made and repeated by H. C. Wright, that voting is not a natural but a conventional right. Will Mr. Wright please to tell us if man has no natural right to govern himself, how he acquired the right, not only to govern himself, but also to govern his neighbor? Mr. May, too, regrets that there should not have been some discrimination, some educational test of admittance to the ballot-box. To me, it is surprising that men who have made the rights of humanity their life-long study should now take the ground always claimed by tyrants the world over, namely, that the people, the masses, are incapable of self-government. It seems to accord strangely with Mr. Wright's oft-repeated assertions, Man above his incidents," "Humanity above all books, creeds and constitutions." I know the reasons given for this position are very plausible, yet to me they seem fallacies. The world has been filled with them, and duped by them. Not long since, we had a numerous and popular society, called Know-Nothings, the people go up for Emancipation. If you should or, as they preferred to call themselves, " Americans," who, planting themselves on the same ground, were for disfranchisement by the wholesale; and many of the true and tried abolitionists, who had battled manfully against disfranchisement on account of color, went in for disfranchisement on account of birth-place. It need not be asked what would have been our situation during the war, had they been able to carry out their plans. But suppose we should adopt an educa-tional test, what then? I think Wendell Phillips said, not long since, that work did more to make the man, break faith with the negroes who settled on the Sea than book-learning. If that be true, and I am not sure but it is, then we must have a work test. How would the students at " old Harvard," and your city dandies, like the idea of learning to handle the spade and wield the hoe, before being admitted to the ballotbox ! And so there would be no end to the discrimi-

Once give man the right to govern his brother, and you have in principle admitted all that despots ever claim; for what better right have a million men to out mentioning the fact that I had heard this stategovern one, than one has to govern a million? If the Declaration of Independence is a sure and safe foundation, let us not be afraid to build on it. If not-if it is, as the Southerners any, made up of "glittering generalities," which it will never do to carry outthen let us discard it, and look for a better.

Yours, for the rights of man, S. M. SEAVER.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Dec. 7, 1865.

P. S. My date reminds me that the Liberator is not caused him to do an unjust act. near its end. This I most deeply regret; and yet it seems as fitting a time to close as there ever will be, though it might seem desirable that the Constitution anti-slavery antecedents, an enemy of "the radi-

THIRTY-SECOND National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subcription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends

To His Excellency, Levi E. Parsons, Provisional Governor, Monigomery, Alabama: In conclusion, allow me to congratulate you that while a Giddings, a Lovejoy, a King, a Parker, a

when the friends of the negro and of impartial liberty—that the 321 Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, on Wednesday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and specially to sustain the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Cherishing as the Managers do an assured hope that the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the Unit will soon be ratified, they still consider the great question of the condition and rights of the Negro race as in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in every thing but the effect, is to be decided this winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in every thing but the name, is to be decided this winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated and wealthy race, one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with the communication is received.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient servant, WILLIAM H. SEWARD. by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges, the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil mically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries.

Washington, Dec. 19. The following message was received in the Senate to-day, from the President, in reply to a resolution of that body adopted on the 12th inst.: tries, by courts and judges, but by the lash, in the "I have the honor to state that the rebellion waged hands of irresponsible masters. This stamps the system as substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction urged by the Administration leaves the black still a slave. Though some count on such resistance to it by Congress as will ensure its modification existed, and that so far as could be done, the Courts of the United States have been restored, Post Officer resistabilised and steps taken to my into effect. dolphe!" I fancy that the Southern delegates who party which elected him were dissipated by the

not relish his avowed policy, congratulate themselves no many lips are scaled by party temptations, and so many lips are scaled by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists, it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation, as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the look of the desired constant proclamation are scaled by party temptations, and so been received, and in nearly all of them measures have been adopted or are now pending, to confer upon freedmen the privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection and security. In Fiorida and Texas the people are making comments, and no doubt is entertained that they will at an early period be in a condition to resume all their practical relations with the Federal Government.

In that portion of the Union lately in rebellion, the agreed of first is still prote promising than in the property of the property of the province of the

caste, has been struck, and the day of "glittering

this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zeal- ous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions, as herete fore, to W. I. BOWDITCH, ESQ., No. S. R. R. Exchange, Court Square. LUCRETIA MOTT, LIDIAN EMERSON, MARY M. BROOKS, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, LYDIA D. PARKER, CHARLOTTE I FORTEN, ELIZA APTHORP, MARY E. STEARNS, Medford, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ANNA G. PHILLIPS. Anna Side of the zeal- conform to their profession, and that in account on the profession, and that in account of the constitution and I united States, their loyalty will be united S	
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MARTHA LEBARON GODDARD. " " taxation will result in the harmonious re-	
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SARAH COWING, Weymouth, " The attention of the Senate is invited to	
HANNAH R SPOONED Plymouth " panying report of Licut. Gen. Grant, w!	ho recen
made a tour of inspection through sev	
CAROLINE R. PUTNAM, Salem, "States whose inhabitants participated in the SARAH BRADFORD, Roxbury, "ANDREW JO.	

Roxbury, the Cradle of Liberty, there was a yearning for home REBECCA BRADFORD, SARAH P. REMOND, England. Cambridgeport, Mass. SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, Grantville, EURLINA E SLA ELIZABETH B. CHASE, Rhode Island. ANNA T. FAIRBANKS,

ANNA T. FAIRBANKS,
SALLIE HOLLEY,
New York.

The Southern Style of Reconstruction. A lawsuit in New Orleans has developed the peculiar ideas of the rebels on practical reconstruction in amone not very indicative of returning loyalty. We find the following reference to it in a New Orleans letter to the Cincinnati Gazette:

"When New Orleans fell, some of the coast and river pilots went off with the rebels, while others remained and did service, whenever engaged, on United States vessels. The last have of course been here ever since. The others have been gradually returning through the summer and resuming their occupation. At last, they found themselves in the majority; whereapon, in a certain Pilot's Association, they proceeded to resolve that the pilots who had remained in New Orleans during the war, and had done service on the United States vessels when required, should not be recognized by the Association, and vessels which hereafter employ them should in a like manner be tabooed. Not satisfied with this, through their relations to the insurance companies, they effected an arrangement by which any vessel employing these tabooed pilots should be refused insurance."

The SMALL Pox is making fearful ravages in very many places among the freed people. We hear of it in Maryland, in North Carolina, in Georgia, and at many points in the West and Southwest, and lately, as being very virulent at Selma, Alabama. The sufferings of a vast number of the aged, the very young, ferrings of a vast number of the aged, the very young, for the president and such and a vant of patriotism or truthfulness of the President, and never made any, in public or in private.

Alter sound qualify, if not wholly retract, the strong expression used by him. Mr. Sumner said he had nothing to qualify, nothing to retract.

Mr. Dixon said, as a friend of the President, he could not suffer such of the policy, and listen to such a charge. He suit was the President and although the resident, he could not suffer such the policy of the President had ma

as being very virulent at Selma, Alahama. The sufferings of a vast number of the aged, the very young; and otherwise helpless among this people, must be terrible and unexampled this winter, unless the action

biggest hypocrite they ever saw," I learned also that Gen. Saxton had gone to the islands with him, and lose the respect and confidence of the anti-slavery people of the North; and that were I in Gen. Howcat's-paw in the hands of the rebels. I found that Gen. Saxton would not purchase place at the expense whole affair; that his sense of duty as a soldier had

THE STATE OF ALABAMA The following has been addressed by Secretary Seward to Mr. Parsons:-

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, December 18, 1864.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

ance to it by Congress as will ensure its modification, it is still unfortunately true that, with four or five illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land or ballot to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretense of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are scaled by party temptations, and so been adopted or are scaled by party temptations, and so been adopted or are now pending, to confer upon many journals silent or neutral from one cause or

therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zeal-out and tried laborates in this members in this members in this members in this members in the appeals of the zeal-out and the first and the first and the second parsuits.

ent metaber of the community in which he has his home.

From all the information in my possession, and from that which I have recently derived from most reliable authority, I am induced to cherish the belief that sectional animosity is surely and rapidly merging itself into the spirit of nationality, and that representation connected with a properly adjusted system of taxation will result in the harmonious restoration of the relations of the States to the National Union. The report of Carl Schurz is herewith transmitted as requested by the Senate. No report from Hon. John Covode has been received by the President.

The attention of the Senate is invited to the accompanying report of Lieut. Gen. Grant, who recently made a tour of inspection through several of the States whose inhabitants participated in the rebellion.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18, 1865.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.

Mr. Sumner moved for the reading of the report of General Schurz, referred to in the message of the President, and characterized the message as similar to the whitewashing message of Franklin Pierce in relation to the Kaussa attrocities.

Considerable debate following, Mr. Sherman moved that the reading be dispensed with, and the document printed.

The London Daily News says that enough is known to require the supersedure of Gov. Eyre of Jamaica. The following is Mr. Bright's reference to this subject in his speech at Blackburn :-

and otherwise helpless among this people, must be terrible and unexampled this winter, unless the action of the Government, and the liberality of individuals throughout the North, combine to relieve and are throughout the North, combine to relieve and are the Government, and the liberality of individuals throughout the North, combine to relieve and are the constant of the Repet to go the Liberator of Nov. 29, 1863, they will confer a great favor by sending it to this office, and that which has that which has caused a charm, not only in his own home and country, but here in the United States of the robets. I found that the states of the robets. I found that the blacks would justly ondernee of the anti-lavery ding the blacks would justly ondernee of the anti-lavery ding the blacks would justly ondernee of the anti-lavery ding the blacks would justly ondernee of the Repetion. However, in the longer of the American Freedom and the Canada and their supports and the complete of the Repetion and heard the state of the robets. I found that we have a complete the property of the state of the robets. I found that the land with the state of the robets. I found that the land will be trived the robets in fine the word of any country, and he was any own publicated and the robets. I found that were in fine to the robets in fine the word of any country, and he was any own public the second of the robets. I found that were in fine to the robets in the public test of the robets in fine the robets of the Republic that and will be a second the robets of the Republic that the land will be a second the robets of the robets. I found that we like it does not complete the robets of the robets of the robets in fine the robets of the robets of the robets. I found that the robets of the robets in fine the robets of the robets in fine the robets of the robets of the robets of the robets of the r

Washington, Dec. 19. The Precident's special message, and General Grant's report accompanying it, created an unexpected sensation in Congress to-day. Those opposed to the Precident's reconstruction policy look upon it with disfavor.

Reports of Freedmen's affairs in Florida and South Carolina are favorable, but in Alabama General Swayne telegraphs that there will be forty thousand destitute negroes to be supplied with rations.

Secretary Seward has addressed a communication to Provisional Governor Johnson, of Georgia, relieving him from the duties of that office, and also to Gov. Jenkins, authorizing him to enter upon the duties of his office. The dispatches are identical in language with those in the case of Alabama, already published.

The Secretary of State has received a telegram,

lished.

The Secretary of State has received a telegram, dated yesterday, from the Governor of California, representing that the Legislature of that State has ratified the proposed amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery.

The Boston Post's special says: "Rev. Henry Ward Beecher delivered an address Wednesday evening, in the U. S. House of Representatives, to an immense audience. Chief Justice Clase presided, and prayer was offered by a colored minister. The speaker took ground in favor of immediate and universal suffered by a colored minister. frage, even including women, and dwelt on that posi-tion at considerable length. Several members of the Cabinet were present, as well as nearly all the Sena-tors and members of the House. The sentiments were rapturously applauded."

TF NOTICE .- All Pledges and Subscriptions at any time made to, or in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and not yet paid, are now fully due. All persons so indebted are earnestly requested to make payment, without delay, to the Treasurer, E. D. DRAPER, or to the General Agent, Sawret, May, Jn., addressing either at Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington St., Boston.

PROSPECTUS - OF -

THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST.

Relieving that Liberty has been betrayed by her friends, and never more needed the devotion and labor of every oyal heart and hand; and the dark places of this Government never more required the light of Truth, spoken in the foar of God and of none bat him, we will publish far RECONSTRUCTIONIST; a weekly newspaper, devoted to Equality before the Law—to Honesty, as the best policy; and Christianity, as the best Statesmanship.

We will give a synopsis or review of all important Congressional speeches and action; and of the sermons and cetures, of national interest, so as to present a bird's-eye view of the leading thoughts of leading minds, for the convenience of those who have limited time for reading, and wish to keep up with the forward movement of the age.

and wish to keep up with the forward movement of the ge.

In the intervals of Congress, we will furnish Incidents of Hospital life, and Biographical Sketches of women who have aided in putting down the Rebellion, or otherwise parned honorable distinction in the World's History.

We will have such active aid from prominent men and somen, and such a list of Correspondents and Agents as must make The Reconstructions throughly national in interest and circulation, and such a medium tor general advertising as business men cannot afford to neglect. We cell its future secure; and can confidently ask the patronage of those who wish to read, or make their business mown through a national, independent, family newspaper not which "nothing that defileth or maketh a lie" can procure entrance.

The first number will be issued December 14, 1865. Terms \$2 per annum in advance.
All communications to be addressed to

JANE G. SWISSHELM, Washington, D. C.

A NEW RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE. The Radical

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY S. H. MORSE, BOSTON, MASS.

THE publication of THE RADICAL was commenced in obedience to a recognized need for a popular Magazine which should be devoted to the discussion and presentation of the advanced religious convictions of the present time. The encouraging response which has already greeted the publisher, from a large number of people, in all parts of the country, is the assurance that the publication was well timed.

timed.

The Radical is a Magazine presenting the thoughts of able and disinterested writers. It has no sectarian bias, but welcomes truth from whatever source it may come "It is," as a city journal has stated, "a Magazine for all people who are not too closely wedded to their own idea to tolerate freedom of inquiry and carnest discussion."

The following writers, among others, are engaged as regular or occasional contributors:

regular of occasional contributors:
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Rev. John Weißer.
Rev. D. A. Wasson.
Rev. D. A. Wasson.
Rev. Robert Collyer.
Rev. J. B. Mapun.
Rev. J. H. Montgomery.
Rev. J. B. Manuin.
Rev. John Savary.
Rev. Salas Farrington.
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C. K. Whipple.
Rev. F. E. Abbot.

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S. H. MORSE, EDITOR. TERMS: Single subscriptions, Two Dollars a year. Sin-le copies 20 cents. United States bills preferred.

TRIME: Single subscriptions, Two Dollars a year. Single copies 20 cents. United States bills preferred.

The world has much to say about the temporal and the cternal. By this it means a division of worlds. This side the grave means temporal. The side beyond the grave means temporal. The side beyond the grave means ternal. Politics, Art, Literature, Philosophy, Science, are of this world—also morality, and are all temporal. Its Religion, as Coleridge said, is "other-worldiness." Shall we not find a better distinction? Shall we not so interpret religion that we can let the other world rest until our fortune of life finds as there as dwellers—making this world as sacred as the next shall be; life as little to be despised here, as it shall be in any hereafter? Phillippohn, the able Jewish writer, makes is his chief argamout against Christianity, that it readers this world mean and contemptible by its dismal strain of immortality—dismal to his cultured coul, because it reveals in the great mass of mankind who are chanting it, a thought so entirely selfish. So far as Christianity can be made responsible for this "dismal strain of future life," it must go under condemnation. Jesus, however, was not a "Christian." He cut the One-world apart as regar is the world. His "this world "meant surface, pretencion, illusion, show, hypecrity, sham. His "Hereal life" was quality of life, and not duration or plan of existence. "Love God with and and heart, and your neighbor as yourself." That was all he said. Thear down the partition wall, and you have One World and Eternity aiready with yos. To live in this great Eternity, and, forgetting little or great private aims, (which are temporal, for they must be set aside for the common weal,) to work with a whole divotion to truth as to universal ends, is that marriage of Man with God, which in all places and forever must be, for man, his Religion. This Religion can be subtracted from no department. It is the one Reality. It is the Life of all life that shall not perish—Ko.

Address, S

Address, S. H. MORSE, at HAVERHILL, Mass. Send 0 cents for specimen numbers.

AYER'S AGUE CURE,

nittent Fever, or Fever and Ague, Remittent Fever, Chill Fever, Dumb Ague, and Periodical Headache or Bilious Headache, and Bilious Fevere; indeed for the whole class of diseases originating in biliary derangement, caused by the malaria of miasmatic countries.

ment, caused by the malaria of missmatic countries.

Levelt and Ague is not the only consequence of the missmatic porce. A great variety of disorders arise from its irritation, in malarious districts, among which are Neuralgia, Rheumatism, Gout, Headache, Blindness, Toothache, Earache, Catarrh, Asthma, Palpitation, Painful Affection of the Spleen, Hysteries, Pain in the Bowels, Colle, Paralysis, and Derangement of the Stomach, all of which, when originating in this case, put on the intermittent type, or become periodical. This "cure" expels the poison from the blood, and thus cures them all alike. It is not only the most effectual remedy ever discovered for this class of complaints, but it is the cheapest, and moreover is perfectly safe. No harm can arise from its use, and the patient, when cured, is left as healthy as if he had never had the disease. Can this be said of any other cure for Chills and Fever? It is true of this, and its importance to those afflicted with the complaint cannot be over estimated. So sure is it to care the Fever and Ague, that it may be truthfully said to be a certain remody. One Dealer complains that it is not a good medicina. I sell, because she bottle cares a whole neighborhood.

Prepared by J. C. Ayraa & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists.

PRINTING MATERIAL FOR SALE. TWO fonts of Long Primer, of about 390 possels each one somewhat wern, the other quite good, and small fonts of Minion and Small Pics, are for sale at this office, pry low, for casb. Also, imposing stones, stokis, galleys, Ac.—the usual material of a newspaper office. TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Praise is the grateful heart's o'erflow, The hero's well-earned meed : But 0 ! of such poor praise as mine Thou, great soul, hast no need. Yet hirds will praise the Summer's reign. And I. unsought, unseen, would lay My tribute at thy feet.

Heir of a pure and proud old name, Wealth's dower'd and cultured son : Ancestral glories pale before What thine own hands have won ; On shrine of pure Democracy Casting that olden crest, Thou seek'st to crown with equal rights The least and lowliest.

Nor wise one's jeer, nor rabble's laugh, Nor ruffian's murderous threat Could move thy heaven-inspired soul From its strong purpose yet ! That purpose !- ne'er archangel flew Thro' star-world's roll and shine, Heaven-hastened on his mission high, With holier aim than thine !

A crown among the beaded drops On honest Labor's brow :--The BALLOT for each hand that holds The pickage or the plow; For Carolina's dark-browed child, For Erin's rosy son, Thou claim'st our Freedom's olden boast— The rights of men are one.

Fair, marble fair thy Saxon brow, Yet pitiest thou not less The dark, dark brows that turn to thee To help their helplessness; Thy matchless gifts, thy stainless name In Freedom's needlest day, Thy life itself-rich sacrifice ! On Freedom's altar lay !

All calm and pale, how hast thou stood Near violence and death, Till, hushed beneath the voice's spell. The furies held their breath O, voice more grand than roll of waves, More sweet than song of birds, How Truth's keen arrows heartward sped, Winged by thy golden words !

O knight who Freedom's favor wear'st, The fearful battle through; Than Arthur's Lancelot far more brave. Than Arthur's self more true ; How oft thou'rt wounded in the fight By friends who know thee not-Blind to thy banner and thy crest, Oppose thee fierce and hot !

Thy hand, reached down to help the' oppressed, Dewed with their grateful tears !-Ah ! ne proud ruler's touch bath stained Its whiteners, through the years! No poppies, strewn in Victory's track, Might o'er thy senses steal; Clear rose thy voice o'er Party's din,-Thy free lips none could seal !

Deem not I think to fatter thee With my poor childish lays; Thee-whom long since a poet crowned Hath tuned his lyre to praise ; All breath should praise ther -thou, whose voice Made Truth's bard lessons sweet ; And in this spirit I would lay KATT CARLISLE

. James Russell Lowell.

A SERMON FOR THE TIME. BY EDWARD BUTLER.

"Not this man, but Barabbas. Now, Barabbas was

When John the Paptist stood and cried In the desert, "The way of the Lord make straight!"
His words were rough as the girdle tied Around his loins, and the food he ate W s locusts and honey. He did not fear

Should harshly grate on the dainty ear As he probed the secret sin of cach. Bitter the husk, but the kernel sweet As the wild bee's store. So the people knew That he came from God ; and he gave them meat Which filled their souls, for his words were true. And he who would preach to men to-day Should use seant ears, and spend small time In shaping the message God bids him say. Who hath ears to hoar, let him heed my rhyme !

And time now writes, as once of old, The very self-same story still. Years have come, and years have gone (And yet we see both fools and wise,) Since Jewry saw the Holy One Walking the earth in lowly guise Priests and rulers, skilled to bind Bardens on those of low degree, Asked, with a sneer, "Who hopes to find A prophet come from Galilee? Traitors never are far to seek-Silver, not gold, enough for fee-And " Hail !" be said, with an air so meek, And kissed him in Gethsemane. Pharisee, Sadducee, Rabbi, Priest Herod and Pilate, friends again And over the victim make a feast As vultures gorge when a lamb is slain. But in the Roman's heart a touch Of pity lingered-or was it shame? And he tried to win (so it cost not much)

Eighteen hundred years have told

Their tale of good and their tale of ill;

The priceless gift of an honest name. "And which will you have? I find no fault In one; Rarabbas a thief is he. The people's shout clave the purple vault : "Crucify Christ! Let the thief go free!" And then Lord Pilate water took To cleanse his hands from the bloody stain-And I am free from sin; so look "Let his blood remain

On us and on ours !" But of both the guilt Was the same. For these who did the wrong, And he who stood by when blood was spilt. Found vengeance sure, though tarrying long. Christ hangs on the gallows-tree Jeered in his more than mortal pain ; But the robber Barabbas is free-Free to plunder and murder again. Christ is laid in his rock-hown grave, The stone is sealed and the watch is set. What if the world he died to save Should see him coming in judgment yet?

Years have come and years have gone (And still we see both fools and wise) Since Jarry saw the Buly One Walking the earth in lowly guise And now, as then, he walks the land. In sight of all who have eyes to see, As truly Christ as when his hand Raised the dead of Bethany. But who would find him still must seek, Not palace-halls, but the prison-ward ; Not midst the proud, but where dwell the Whom all contemn is Christ the Lord ! Christ the Lord, though his face be black ; Christ the Lord, though foul with sin; Christ the Lord, although he lack

Christ the Lord, with his patient brow Scarred by thorns, and his wounded side. And piereed hands; whom we crucify now, In secrning those for whom he died.

O land ingrate! In your hour of need, When your purest blood in vain was shed, To your soldier's color you gave small heed, So you only knew that his blood was red. O scorners now! Ye little cared

When Barabbas aimed his traitorous blow, If black or white were the bosoms bared To his dagger, if they but faced the foe O hard of heart ! Did we break the chain To mock his hopes who Freedom won, To forge the shattered links again, And cheat him when the task was done? O fools and blind! Will ye make the choice

The people made in days gone by, And re echo now their guilty voice "Set the robber free! Let the just one die!" Christ lives and waits. Though patient long, The earth shall yet his judgment see, And hear his doom: "Who did a wrong That harm'd my poor, has wounded Mr."

-N. Y. Independent.

The Liberator.

SOME POPULAR DELUSIONS, THEIR CAUSE AND THEIR CURE.

ICONCLUDED.]

It may be well to state here the reasons for not ac cepting the clerical hypothesis of an infallible inspiration of every part of the Old and New Testaments. 1. The assumption of such inspiration remains

merely a hypothesis, never having been proved. 2. The numerous books, small and great, which pre tend to afford such proof, not only fail to give it, but show plainly the attempt to deceive in regard to it. They often assume, and sometimes declare, things grossly false, and they abound in deceptive implica tion, unsound premises, unauthorized conclusions, and dishonest reference to passages of Scripture.

3. The very numerous discrepancies and contradic tions existing between the works that have been brought together under the name of "The Bible, (quite natural and harmless in view of their diverse human origin,) absolutely forbid the theory that God dictated those writings, or that he prevented the intermixture of error with them.

4. The low and unworthy views of God, and of his relations with man, presented by many of these writers (quite natural, considering the limited intelligence and imperfect culture of the age in which they lived, absolutely forbid the theory that God himself dictated, inspired, or miraculously superintended their record.

When the question is asked-"Do you believe the Bible?" (by which the cierical inquirer means-Do you believe our hypothesis of the infallible inspiration of all the books of the Old and New Testaments?)-it is sufficient to reply with the counter question-" What reason is there for believing it?" Let him who wishes to maintain this hypothesis produce his evidence; and let the hearer of it mark, on the spot, such points of it as he shall find unfounded, erroneons or inconclusive, and point out these defects to his exhorter.

He who declines to admit the claim of infallible inspiration for the Bible will probably be accused of throwing away the Bible." He who specifies the errors or contradictory passages of that book as rebutting evidence, showing that it cannot have sprung entirely from God's dictation, will probably be accused of "denouncing the Bible." In such cases the ac cused should bear in mind, and should plainly declare to the accuser, that the thing:" thrown away," the thing "denounced," is not the Bible, but a certain unproved hypothesis concerning that book. Let the asserters of this doctrine proce it, instead of urging further their unreasonable demand that it be taken or trust by the community.

When the writings of men of different ages of the world, different religions, different characters, ideas and purposes, and different grades of intelligence and civilization are bound together in one volume, it is a matter of course that errors and discrepancies will be found in that volume. These do not in the least impugn the character of the book. Of itself, it does not pretend to be anything but a collection of diverse writings. the several parts of which are to be judged each by its own evidence. If any body sets up a claim that the whole and every part are absolutely free from error, it is for him to prove that claim. Such proof has never been given in regard to the sixty-six books contained in the Old and New Testaments, though it has often been pretended. The great number of in correct assumptions and erroneous statements which are found in every book and every tract pretending to prove the inspiration of the Bible make it necessary to scrutinize carefully the accuracy of every portion of such pretended proof. Especially is such care necessary in dealing with the tracts or books prepared by the American Tract Society. The systematic dis honesty of the managers of that body has been so thoroughly proved by their dealings in regard to slavery, that no statement of theirs should be received without the corroborative evidence of persons known to be truthful. Every one may assure himself of their fraudulent dealing in regard to the claim of infallible inspiration for the whole Bible, by turning, in any one of their publications upon that subject, to their criptural quotations in support of it, examining the connection and meaning of each in its place in the Bible, and noticing how many of them are so utterly destitute of pertinence or appropriateness as plainly to appear intentionally deceptive.

The basis of that superstructure of sophistry and fraud which is found in the books that pretend to prove infallible inspiration for the Bible is the claim that the Bible itself assumes its own inspiration. Their array of pretended argument and pretended evidence is of fered in corroboration of a claim assumed to be made by the book itself. How entirely this assumption fal. precepts in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. These sifies the fact, how entirely "of whoic cloth" this pretence is made up, may be seen in ten minutes by each book, and see whether or not they claim to be from God, or infallibly inspired, or to have any other origin or cause than other books have, namely, the These books further contain numerous injunction choice of some man to write each one of them. He who makes such an examination will find these three

things, namely :-I. Neither the volume called the Bible, nor cither of the two collections of books that compose it, claims for itself to be infallibly inspired. No such claim can be found made either by the Old Testament for itself, or by the new Testament for itself, or by either for

II. A separate examination of each of the sixty-six works which have been brought together to form this volume will show that they make not even any individual claim to be infallibly inspired; and that not one in ten of them uses any language bearing even a alight resemblance to such a claim.

III. In regard to the few exceptional cases, name ly, the books ascribed to " Hosea," " Joel," " Micah," Zephaniah" and "Malachi," in the Hebrew Scriptures, and the book called "Revelation," in the Chris tian Scriptures, even if their opening expressions may mean that God dictated their contents, those expres sions do not require that interpretation; since the may mean just as really (and much more probably) only what a minister means who says to his people "God commands you" to lead honest lives. And even should it be judged upon this evidence that these six books were infallibly inspired, this would not establish, nor tend to establish, a similar claim in behalf of the sixty others.

We are to wait, then, for evidence, before admitting the assumption, either that the Bible claims to be in-

this pretence to you, demand the evidence of it; ask that this evidence be shown you on the spot, in the Bible: and, (if you can bring him to the point of attempting to show it,) point out to him the insufficiency utter inappropriateness (as the case may be) of what he offers you for proof. There is no need to raise objection to the doctrine until something plau sibly approaching proof of it is offered.

When the Independent was edited by Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson and Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, a on upon this subject was addressed to that pa per. The question and the editorial answer to it are ontained in the following extract from the Inde pendent of April 26th, 1860 :- "The same writer bega as a special favor that we will name in the Independent some one book containing what we, after carefully eading it, regard as conclusive proof that the whole Bible was written by inspiration of God. Most cheerfully do we comply with his request. That one book s the Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testa ments: translated out of the original tongues. We name the English version, because we know nothing f the inquirer's acquaintance with the originals."

Three things are worthy of notice in this answer, -first, the avoidance, by the Editor, of giving an pinion of the sufficiency of any one of the nume rous books of pretended proof upon this subject written by his clerical brethren; next, the impudence of offering an individual (whose character is the point under debate) to be the sole witness in his own be half; and third, the combined impudence and false good of offering as sufficient proof, that which con tains not even a claim of the matter in question. If, eccording to the above declaration, the Bible really proves itself inspired, let its Reverend self-elected guardians begin by showing us where it makes the

The hardihood with which the clergy and the "re ligious" press (so called) make assumptions in regard to the Bible is well illustrated by a paragraph, credited to " Dr. James Hamilton," which is constantly going the rounds of the religious newspapers, without word of warning of the group of falsehoods expressed and implied in it. It is entitled-" David's Bible and ours,"-and commences thus :-" In the days of King David, the Bible was a scanty book; yet he loved i well and found daily wonders in it." After rehearing "Genesis," "Exodus," "Leviticus," "Numbers," Deuteronomy," "Joshua and Judges," "Job," and 'Ruth," the paragraph proceeds-"These were David's Bible; and, brethren, whatever wealth you have, remember that David desired his Bible beyond his riches. So thankful was he for such a priceless possession, that he praised God for its righteous judgments seven times a day."

The clerical editors of these papers are bound airness to let their readers know that there is not a particle of evidence that all these books were written, or that any of them were collected into one volume, so carly as the time of David; that there is not particle of evidence that David ever saw even one of them; and that the author of the paragraph above referred to was obliged to alter the passage he pretended to quote from a Psalm of David, to make it even seem to establish his fraudulent assumption. Instead of making such explanations, these editors place such extracts in their columns of religious reading, and leave them to make their natural impression upon the minds of readers not only unlearned, but prepossessed with belief in the truth of the matters there collected, and the honesty of their writers. And it is matter like this, crammed with false assumption and false assertion under the guise of piety, which constitutes the

staple of the American Tract Society's publications. These men, pretending to be disciples and follow ers, yes, even divinely commissioned ambassadors of Jesus Christ, have the hardihood to teach a doctrine directly opposite to his, in regard to the infallibility of Scripture. Far from teaching that the Old Testament, the only portion of the Bible existing in his time, was an inspired and unerring rule of life, Jesus freely criticised its rules, sometimes enlarging, some times diminishing, and sometimes reversing their in-

How did he treat the Hebrew decalogue ? a portion of the Jewish code which modern clerical writers have had the impudence to set up as " the moral law," inding upon Christians as well as Jews. So far from referring its authorship to God. Jesus does not even refer it to Moses, but quotes three of its provisions as traditions handed down by "them of old time," and quotes them for the purpose of showing that they need to be amended. He shows the sixtle commandment of this code not to be strict enough, and declares hating to be wrong as well as killing; he shows the seventh not to be strict enough, and declares unchaste thought wrong, as well as unchaste action; he interferes still more radically with the third commandment, forbidding what that allowed. and declaring it wrong to swear at all, instead of wrong merely to violate your oath. He makes constant practical opposition to the injunction of the fourth commandment, so as to be popularly known to the devout Jews as a Sabbath-breaker. This man, they said, "cannot be of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath-day." He justified his disciples in travelling and laboring on that day. He commanded. in one case, the bearing of a burden on that day, in direct opposition, not only to the fourth commi but to the express and emphatic injunctions of Nehe miah and Jeremiah. And when accused in regard to this last act, he not only defended himself, but denied the statement (which they seem to have quoted to nim from Genesis as authoritative) about God having rested" after the work of creation. Jesus said plainly-" My Father worketh hitherto." He never

needed rest and never did rest. All this is direct denial of the Jewish assump respecting the inspired character and the binding force of the commands recorded in their Scripture the Old Testament. But there is much more evidence of the same kind. The injunctions about taking an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, which Jesus opposes and reverses, are no gloss of the Scribes and Pharisees, but emphatic and repeated ooks contain numerous injunctions forbidding the eating of this, that and the other kind of food, because any one who will take the Bible, look at the opening of to eat it would defile them. Jesus says, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man. concerning bathing and washing, not only of the hands and body, but of pots, cups and dishes, for the emoval of ceremonial uncleanness. Jesus not only releases his disciples from these observances, saying, " to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man," but he condemns the Scribes and Pharisees for insisting on these very commands of Leviticus and Deuter onomy, about "the washing of pots and cups;" and these, as well as their other observances, he calls "the tradition of men." He also unhesitatingly sets aside the Old Testament rules respecting marriage and divorce, and intimates that God's law, from the beginning, was very different from the law given by Most to the Jews on those subjects. He denies the state ment made in Exodus that the manna which the Hebrews found in the wilderness was " from heaven. He refers the origin of the rite of circumcision not to Moses, nor to God, but to "the fathers." He sets himself against the penalty of stoning to death for adultery, which " Moses in the law commanded." And he utterly denied one of the fundamental ideas of the Jewish system, derived from the Old Testament, that worship in the temple at Jerusalem was more acceptable to God than elsewhere.

Just as Jesus was openly known to the Jews as the law of Moses, and the commands of the old Testa

When the clergyman or the tract distributor makes himself how much of it was to be observed and how attend such meetings. In great numbers of books much not, and to teach others so to judge. The peo ple recognized a diversity, often amounting to opposition, between his teaching and the teaching of Moses.

To one who defended Jesus they said, "Thou art his having this purport. The way to expose the deception of the public worship is commanded in the Bible and by the Bible, and various passages are deceitfully quoted as having this purport. The way to expose the deception of the purport of the purpo disciple; but we are Moses' disciples. We know that tion is to turn to each passage, find to whom it was God spake unto Moses. As for this fellow, we know said and (if possible) who said it, and then judge by not from whence he is."

> Jesus with unrelenting hatred, and finally caused him But the Proselyters of whom I have been speaking to be crucified; and no one feat .re of the life and sys" are very shy of submitting their religion to the exam tem of Jesus goes so far to account for this persistent ination of reason. If, however, you can persuade one hostility as his opposition to their cherished doctrine of them to look at the (assumed) duty of public Sunof the inspired character and infallible authority of day worship from this point of view, you will find their Scriptures, and his direction to his disciples to that he makes this distinction, namely :-- though it is judge of themselves what is right. To teach new doc- the duty of all to give their weekly attendance upon trines to God's chosen and peculiar people (as if they were in darkness or ignorance!) was bad enough; but to pull down their cherished tradition of an infallible revelation given by God to Moses and the prophets, that was the unpardonable sin; that they thought it; the remainder of the assembly (probably an imworthy of death, even the death of the cross. Barabbas was guilty only of murder. This man was an impious wretch, a blasphemer, an opposer of their religion, the only true religion. The existence of this feeling among the Chief Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, accounts for their furious enmity to Jesus. Perhaps it is not too much to say that his denial of the aspiration and authority of the Old Testament was the main cause of his crucifixion.

> This view is corroborated by the fact that accusaions of the same sort were made against the disciples or improvement, is refuted by obvious facts. The exof Jesus after his death, and that the words and acts ercises in our churches on Sundays tend to weary the of those disciples proved (substantially) the truth of audience far more than to edify them, and, when prethese accusations. What was alleged against Ste- sented to an intelligent mind as religion, or an essenphen, the first Christian martyr after Jesus? The tial part of it, must tend to alieniate him from religion witnesses declared that they had heard him speak rather than attract him to it. He who hears regular-blasphemous words against Moses, and against Gode ly, Sunday after Sunday, such prayers as our clergy and against this holy place (the temple) and the law are accustomed to offer, can hardly avoid thinking of and that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this the "vain repetitions" which the heathen use. He is place, and shall change the customs which Moses deliv- not likely to see any reasonableness or appropriate-

> Now, supposing Stephen actually to have taught startly made, that these periodical observances are a (as no doubt he did) the very things that Jesus taught, religious duty, and yet finds, week after week, that the terms of accusation above quoted are the very to 'im they are wearisome and profitless, he will form in which such teaching would present itself to naturally feel himself alienated and repelled from rethe Jewish mind. No doubt, both Stephenand his ligion. He finds nothing in his mind or soul respon-Master had spoken against many of the customs en- sive to it. On the other hand, if he does give ear to joined by Moses and the prophets, and recorded in the representations made from the pulpit, if he does the law, the Old Testament; no doubt they did in- make the effort to enter into the public Sunday obtend and expect "to change" many of the customs servances as a duty, he is, so far, deceived in regard which Moses had delivered them, and which were re- to the demands of Christianity, and withdrawn from corded as laws in their holy Scripture. Such words the influence of him who said-" When thou prayest, and acts, and such systematic intent, would of course enter into thy closet; and when thou hast shut the appear to a devout Jew to be blasphemy against Moses | door, pray to thy Father in secret." and against God, (just as the same sort of teaching in our own time has brought upon Theodore Parker ship called "Prayer." But the clergy further claim the accusation of blasphemy). Nay, this single ex- that God desires and commands that we should offer to pression in Stephen's defence-" Howbeit, the Most Him periodical public " Praise; " a conspicuous week-High dwelleth not in temples made with hands"- ly verbal manifestation of our honor and reverence. coming, as it did, immediately after a reference to Sol- There is no doubt about the duty of honoring God. mon's temple, and contradicting, as it did, scores of The claim is that he wishes us every week publicly passages in the Hebrew Scriptures which declare that to say that we honor Him. temple to be God's chosen and special abiding-place. justification of the charges made against him. Stephen the martyr, therefore, is one of the witnesses Jesus, whom they claim as divinely commi

> The same view is corroborated by a large part of the teaching and action of the Apostle Paul. He was a most determined opposer of the theory which claimed absolute inspiration and infallible authority for the Old Testament. Often making honorable mention (as Jesus and Stephen also did) of the true and good things contained in it, Paul never hesitated to oppose evidence of their feeling in regard to Him, the faiththe errors and imperfections which appear in the same volume, to call some of the most cherished provisions of the Mosaic law "weak and beggarly ele. ments," and to call the Decalogue itself "a mir tion of death." He claimed for the despised Gentiles Law as "a carnal commandment," described the serviceable neither to God himself, nor to the persons weakness and unproficableness" of it, urged the abdisregard are used respecting parts or the whole of either of these purposes. that Old Testament which our clergy maintain to have been infallibly inspired of God. Paul took a very different view of it.

Galatia for having fallen into the blunder of supposing that Christianity required them to receive the Hebrew down. Paul strongly, repeatedly and unequivocally asserts their entire freedom from "the law," whole system of rules laid down by Moses, and recorded in the Old Testament. First vindicating that times, he now declares its usefulness and obligation to have ceased. He first gives this decision respecting the Mosaic system as a whole, of course including the Jewish decalogue. He says-"The Law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ; but after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." Then he turns to certain specific acts of obedience to this law which the Christians of Galatia had already begun to practise, namely, observance of the Sahhath and other Jewish festivals, and of circumcision, and strongly urges the discontinuance of these observances, calling them "weak and beggarly elements." He says-" Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain." Yet nothing in the Oid Testament was more emphatically commanded, both by Moses and the prophets, than the observance of days, and months, and times, and years. Paul objects to the yoke of bondage." He then comes to circumcision. "Behold, I Paul say unto you that, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." anything, nor uncircumcision." Yet nothing in the Old Testament was more solemnly, emphatically and repeatedly commanded than this bloody rite of cir. cumcision. Paul then declared himself free from Old Testament law, and taught his hearers that exemption from is rule was part of the freedom with which

observance commonly called "Public Worship," and that He requires it of men as a duty.

The advantage of public religious instruction is manifest, and is universally conceded. But a separate claim is made for periodical public worship, as a universal duty. The idea is that God is pleased with public applause

at stated times. The assumption is that He commands it, and com mands it in the Bible, though no proof of this assumption can be found there.

The pretence is that it is the duty of all to pay this observance; it is constantly so represented in sermons preached upon the subject, and in the publications of the American Tract Society. And the further pretence is that the Bible expressly requires this observance to be paid every Sunday.

will bear the light of candid examination. The Bible (even if it were admitted to be a unitary

gives no command for attendance on such meetings as the Protestant and Catholic clergy hold on Sundays. Some portions of the Old Testament enjoin Him ! Sabbath-breaker, just so he was openly known to upon the Jews certain religious observances; some them as maintaining, and teaching, independence of portions of the New Testament recommend to Chrisians certain other religious observances; but no part ment. Obeying such of those precepts as he saw to be right, he obeyed nothing merely because it was contained in that code. He held himself at liberty to tomary among us, and not a word in either book war tomary among us, and not a word in either book war.

the connection what is its true meaning.

It was the Jews, not the Romans, who pursued True religion is an obviously reasonable thing. some worshipping assembly, the actual worship can be paid only by those who actually feel the devotion which they express. They are bound to offer weekly public praise to God because he likes it and commands mense majority of it) are bound to give their reverent attendance on this service because it is " a means of grace"; because the influence is a beneficial one, tending to develop honor and reverence for the Creator in them also.

I deny both propositions. As to the second, the claim that the periodical bodily

presence, in an assembly called together for worship. of those who feel no spirit of devotion, is a beneficial or improving exercise, or one that even tends to benefit ness in them. If he believes the assumption con-

So much in regard to the department of Public Wor-

How do they know that He wishes this formality ? must have seemed the height of impiety, and a full The Christian Scriptures, to which they point as a complete revelation of His will, make no such claim. against the inspiration and authority of the Old Testa- direct in regard to our duties, neither established nor directed any such custom. We must judge of it by reason, fitness, use.

Of course, God, who reads the heart of every man at every moment, does not need this sort of expression to show Him the persons who really honor and reverence Him. He has set before men a certain work in this world as the duty of each. If He needed any ful performance of that work, by each, would be the best of evidence. It is improbable in the highest degree that He should wish them to turn aside from this work at stated times, and go to a public place for the purpose of saying "out loud" that they honor a rank equal with those whom the Old Testament and reverence Him. This would be an exaltation of callen "the chosen people of God." He spoke of the form above substance. Such an observance would be solute necessity of "a change" in it. Let it be doing the things which He has commanded. It is inwho were already proving that they honored Him by noted that all these expressions of slight regard and tensely improbable that He requires or wishes it for

But may it not be useful, and may He not requir it, for another purpose, namely, as an admonition to One of the most significant and remarkable and the prodigal children, the unregenerate, the disobedivaluable of the writings of Paul, is his Epistle to the Galatians. It is a severe rebuke to the Christians of walt to honor, be useful enough to them to justify its adoption ? Is not the example of public Praise to God Scriptures as their law, and obey the rules there laid serviceable by fixing public attention upon those who truly honor Him, and inciting others to follow and

emulate them? To this question a most decided negative must be returned. Attendance on these services does not system as having answered a useful purpose in former make known to us who are the good, the reverent, the pious : and still less, who are the most earnest workers in the cause of God and humanity. Fashion, custom, tradition, regard for popular opinion, are each at least as powerful in filling the house of public worship as a sense of duty or an impulse of devotion. The congregation on Sunday is as promiseques, in point of religious character and devout feeling, as any other assembly in which men and women of equally diverse ages come together. In a community like ours, the manifestation of regard for religion is respectable, creditable, popular. Politicians, and candidates for popular favor of every kind, take advantage of it. The act of coming together then on Sundays, in our towns and cities, is not a separation between the religious and irreligious, between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not, thus making a useful example set by the former to the latter. Nothing of the sort. In the church, and forming an habitual porthe whole system of Subbatical observance, calling it iton of the congregation, are plenty of merely fashionable, frivolous, and time-serving people, and plenty also of vicious people; while, on the other hand And among those who stay away from the Sunday assemagain, "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth bly are many who stay away because they have vainly sought for spiritual food, or satisfaction to their religious nature, there; because they find no fitness in the idea of rational and immortal beings coming together twice a week to pay verbal compliments to their Creator-telling the Searcher of hearts (and often with utter reversal of the truth) what are their thoughts and feelings in regard to Him-nay, worse ! Prominent among the popular errors with which I employing an agent to tell the Searcher of hearts am dealing is the idea that God is pleased with the what they would wish to have Him think of their spiritual state. Thus, dissenters from the traditional ustom of public worship find the practice no better than the theory. It is quite as much the utterly worldly as the sincerely pious that set this example of punctual church going. When the clergyman says (in the discharge of that function by which he gets his living) "We pray "-" We adore "-" We give thanks "-" We confess "-it is manifest, obvious, notorious, that the great majority of the assembly do not pray, or adore, or give thanks, or confess. It is a nary form, gone through with patient decorum by the people, (because the pastor has told them that God requires it,) but not bringing them more into conformity with God's will, nor tending to improve the

current of their daily lives. We now come to the question-Does God require this periodical Sunday observance of the true bel the Christian, the disciple of Jesus of Nazareth ! Is there any evidence that He desires, or values, a periodical public expression of applause, even on the book, instead of two collections of books, and even if part of those who truly reverence Him, and wish to it were further admitted to be infallibly inspired,) please Him? Is there any evidence that the Searcher of hearts requires, or wishes, a public lifting up of hands and eyes every Sunday in the act of Praise to

The prefence that any such commands are found is the Bible is a gross and enormous imposture. This pretence is constantly made by the clergy, and by the books and tracts written in their interest. To refute it, as far as the Old and New Testaments are con criticise it, to speak of it as imperfect, to judge for rants the presence of the clergy that it is a duty to as having this purport, and examine what they enjoin,

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by whom they are uttered, and to whom they are ad-

The injunctions in the Hebrew Scriptures about corship are addressed to Jews, and we are no

The injunctions in the Hebrew Scriptures above observance of the Sabbath refer to the Sabbath of their fourth commandment, Saturday, the seventh day of the week, and have nothing to do with us. with Sunday.

The injunctions in the Hebrew Scriptures about at

tendance in the "sanctuary" refer to Jews, and to the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, and have nothing to do with us or our meeting-houses.

If however, any Christian fancies that the Jewish fourth commandment is obligatory on him, let him honestly obey it in the manner prescribed by her. namely, by refraining from bodily labor on Saturday, the seventh day of the week. Since this, and nothing else, was its requisition to the Jews, this and nothing else must be its requisition to him. To suppose this ommand obeyed by attendance in a Christian church on Sunday is utter self-delusion and absurdity.

Coming to the Christian Scriptures, we find an mmand in regard to Sunday, or to a Sabhath, no requisition of periodical assemblage for worship at all, and no appointment, or even recommendation, of attendance on weekly meetings conducted and conti by clergymen. The pretence of our clergy that such attendance is a religious duty is a pretence "made up of whole cloth," and receives no countenance from any passage in the Christian Scriptures.

If we look at the matter in the light of reason, we shall find little ground for the continuance of periodical public worship.

What God wants of us is obedience; a performance of our daily duties; a doing the work of each day, in all our relations with our fellow-creatures, with the right purpose and in the right manner; a constant indfulness to bring ourselves, and those around us, (and the manners, customs and institutions of society, as far as we can influence them,) more into conformit with His will; and, so far as we, from time to time, violate or come short of any of these obligations, to recognize and acknowledge the fact, and try, and keep trying, and never cease trying, to do better. This is the whole duty of man. When our duties or trials are heavy, or when we feel oppressed with weariness or despondency, we have the privilege of prayer. At all times, in strength or weakness, in joy or sorrow. in temptation or other danger, we have the opportunity of entering into communication with the everpresent, ever-sympathizing Father, of expressing our gratitude for the favors already received, and of asking further help from His power and love. And His perfection is our warrant for the conviction that true prayer, the sincere outpouring of the individual soul efore Him, is always welcome, always timely, always belpful. This is the real "communion with Gal The parson cannot help you to pray. The most exteful following and echoing of his prayer cannot be 3027 prayer. And the attempt to unite the "soul's singer sire" of all the individuals of a congregation in the ideas put into the form of prayer by a clergyman must of course be a false pretence, and an utter fall ure, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a and. There is no prayer until the individual soul addresses its God with its own feelings and wishes. The pretence of public worship is an imposture as well as a failure, as far as petition and the exession of feeling in prayer are concerned.

There is another reason which has induced train vout and good men to absent themselves from the weekly formalities in question. Custom has connected public worship with public preaching; and this preaching, conducted by the clerical leaders of the opular sects, has been as far from satisfying the ral nature as the accompanying "prayers and praises" from satisfying the devout soul

The majority of this preaching is devoted to see tarian proselytism, a teaching of irrational dogmos, superstitious ideas, and unprofitable traditional obsetvances. Acceptance of the theology of the sect, generally a theology narrow and false, and adapted to darken rather than enlighten the minds that accept it, is represented as the most essential part of religion, and a devout following of the observances of worship culcated by the clergy is represented as the best evidence of the attainment of a religious character. These things by themselves are enough to deter a rational Christian from uniting with the system of which they form the principal part; but the character of the morality preached as an additional part of the same system gives a still further impulse in the same

Perhaps no one word will so truly describe the character of this pulpit morality as the word "timeserving." The freaching in each sect echoes the popular idea, follows the practice of the eminent and respectable among its public, and discourages reforms which would interfere with their ideas or customs. Take, for example, the subject of slavery. Every one knows (or may know if he will take the trouble to look at the evidence) that the clergy and the church have been the most powerful supporters of the institution of slavery. I mean to say two things. First, the clergy of the country, if they had united in taking such a stand as William Lloyd Garrison took in regard to slavery, might have destroyed the power of that institution in one year from the time of taking such a position; might have withdrawn all decent and reputable members of the community from its support, and rendered its speedy extinction certain, without national convulsion or even popul violence. The notorious facts that they had no heart to do this, and that they chose in all parts of the country, North as well as South, to join the slave holders in discountenancing, calumniating and opposing the abolitionists, bring me to the second assertion, namely; the elergy of this country have been the most active and effective instruments in checking and retarding the success of the movement made by the abolitionists against slavery. Without their support, that wicked institution must long since have fallen. This is but one instance among many of the

time-serving character of the pulpit. For sound moral and religious instruction, then, we must look elsewhere than to that preaching which is carried on by the clergy in connection with public worship. But sound moral and religious teaching is indispensable to the welfare, alike of individuals and the community. It is not enough, then, to discontinue attendance at the places where talse doctrine is taught. It is our business and duty to provide the best teachers in morals and religion for ourselves, as much as to provide the best teachers in literature and science for our children. The success of labe preaching in engrafting a corrupt theology and superstitious observances on the community should stimulate those who desire better things to a diligent use of means adapted to accomplish their purpose. Most men need to be taught, every one needs to be reminded, in regard to the calls of duty and the obligation of progressive improvement. Let the wisest and ablest men engaged to give this instruction, and let a portion of Sunday, the customary rest-day of civilized astions, be spent in hearing it .- c. K. W.

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